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The Week.

THE business of Congress during the past week (and, for that matter, for the major part of this session) has consisted more in defeating impracticable or mischievous measures than in enacting good ones. The one thing of public interest which the Senate has accomplished has been the passage of the bill effecting a reduction of the army. It does away with several inferior grades of officers and with fourteen regimental bands, and there is an express prohibition of any present appointments by Mr. Johnson to the two vacancies among the brigadier-generals. On Wednesday week, as the work of repression, the Judiciary Committee reported adversely on bills of Senators Howe and Sumner in support of law and order and the Fourteenth Amendment at the South, and substituted for Mr. Stewart's another to punish office-taking in wilful violation of that amendment. The penalty may be imprisonment for five years and a fine of \$10,000. The same day, Mr. Sherman got the floor for a speech on his bill in relation to public finance and the currency; but it is not likely that he has gained anything by it for this session. On Thursday, Mr. Chandler's bill "to prevent the collection of illegal imposts under color of State authority"—that is, State taxes on inter-State railway passengers—was reported back from committee with amendments. Mr. Rice introduced a bill for the construction of a Government telegraph between New York and Washington under the control of the Post-Office Department, a measure which, on a small scale, would seem likely to afford the means of judging the expediency of Government taking possession of all existing lines. The debate on the suffrage amendment to the Constitution was interesting chiefly because of the addition Mr. Buckalew would have made to it. He wished Congress to require the people to select Presidential electors and then to prescribe the mode of this selection; thus leaving no room for interference by the State legislatures. Mr. Sumner opposed it, because it left intact the Electoral College, and Mr. Frelinghuysen, because it might open the way too suddenly to minority representation; and it was rejected, because in the general opinion it was out of place as offered. On Friday, Mrs. Lincoln's pension was shown to have met the disfavor of the committee. On Monday the Committee on Commerce gave a lift to the American and Asiatic Telegraph Company, which is to finish its line in three years from this time.

The one thing done by the House, after a liberal amount of speech-making and the voting down of everybody's pet phraseology intended to effect the same object, was the passage of the suffrage amendment

to the Constitution, by 150 yeas to 42 nays. As this, if concurred in by the Senate, will share the wandering fate of most amendments and be debated long after its wording and almost its substance are forgotten, it may be as well to record it *verbatim*:

"Art. —, Sec. 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any State, by reason of race or color, or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

Mr. Boutwell has been the manager of this measure, to which it is a *prima facie* objection that it affords no protection to the colored office-holder, or would-be office-holder, in case any State chooses to exclude the blacks from all offices. Senator Wilson's amendment, offered on Tuesday, covers this point with an additional article. On Thursday the House put itself the awkward question, If the Senate rejects the Georgia senators, what shall we do with the Georgia representatives whom we have taken in? The Reconstruction Committee is to answer, if it can. On Monday, by a vote of 110 to 62, the House put its foot on the scheme for West India aggrandizement, and did well.

The Virginia Committee, who have come to Washington to try to bring about a compromise between the conservatives and radicals of the State as regards the constitution under which the State is to present itself for admission to the Union, have addressed a very business-like and moderate statement of their case to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. In it they express their willingness, in spite of their conviction of its dangers, to accept negro suffrage, but ask for certain changes in the constitution, calculated, as they think, to guard against these dangers—one of which is greater concentration of power, so as to give the majority of the whole State more weight and local majorities less, even in the management of local affairs. They deny all hostility to the common-school system, but are anxious to reserve its management to the State, and not to trust it to the separate districts. It is a long while since a public document of equal gravity and good sense has emanated from the same quarter. General Grant is understood to have given the committee a very favorable reception.

The condition of the Georgia difficulty, as it affects reconstruction, we have commented on elsewhere. There is talk of following up the refusal of the Senate to admit Mr. Hill by expelling the representatives already admitted to the House, which would certainly be a vigorous, if not a wise, measure. We take leave to say that none of these things will help reconstruction one iota. They will exasperate the whites at the South more than ever against the negroes, render the impartial administration of justice more and more difficult, postpone the return of order and confidence, and prevent the negroes betaking themselves at once to that to which they must betake themselves sooner or later for their protection—their own industry and intelligence and thrift. It was preached by the supporters of the reconstruction measures that, the ballot once in the negro's hands, he would be left, as all men are under the American system, to work out his salvation by his own exertions, and avenge himself on his oppressors in the American way, by voting against them. We hope the country has not been deceived on this point. There are, doubtless, outrages and abuses at the South, but keeping Southern representatives out of Congress will not diminish them. Another objection to the [prolongation of the transition state

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is, the opportunities it offers to unprincipled adventurers to push their fortunes as "Union men" at Washington. If the stories be true which some of the Republican senators and representatives tell of the morals of these gentlemen and their influence on legislation, the sooner the tinkering of the South is given up the better, at least as regards the States already admitted to the Union. We trust we shall soon see the end of it in the passage of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment.

General Webb and Admiral Davis have had an old-fashioned row over the Washburn difficulty with Lopez, "the wild beast of Paraguay," as he has been forcibly and picturesquely styled. The correspondence, however, is nearly all on the general's side, the admiral remaining provokingly cool and reticent. It originated in the unexplained, and as far as we can see inexcusable, refusal of the latter to insist on the Brazilians permitting a vessel to pass up the river to bring down Mr. Washburn and his suite, who reported that they were in danger of their lives. The admiral, however, insisted on taking a light view of their situation and treating the danger as imaginary and the prohibition of the Brazilian commander-in-chief as insurmountable. In the correspondence, however, General Webb, we need hardly say, is not concise nor moderate, and the admiral is not much damaged in the encounter. Curiously enough the English minister, who is, or ought to be, the general's natural enemy, appears in the correspondence as his bosom friend, urging him on to uphold the honor of the flag and punish the monster Lopez. As the general sensibly remarks, he and the admiral cannot both be right, but this only removes the difficulty one degree further back.

The St. Domingo business has been again before the House, but this time in the form of downright annexation, instead of Mr. Banks's protectorate scheme. Mr. Orth introduced a bill providing for the annexation of the whole island, with its two republics, or whatever they are, with all their appurtenances, and providing for the conversion of the new acquisition into a Territory, with a view to its ultimate admission to the Union as a State. Characteristically enough, we do not mean of him personally but of his type of politician, the minute he presented his bill he moved the "previous question," being desirous that this mighty plan should not even be discussed. It was rejected by a large majority, so there may be little use in saying anything more about it. But then it is not impossible that some sage in Congress will still cherish the idea, and perhaps reproduce it, and it is, therefore, perhaps proper to remind the public that annexation will do Hayti no good, unless we also undertake to govern it by Federal authority. The notion that it would give the people their first taste of freedom and self-government, is simply a delusion. They are now as free as they would be in the Union, and have charge of their own affairs with even less control or hindrance than they would experience in the Union, and have enjoyed every variety of political experience, including a massacre, a servile war, a war of independence, and plenty of civil wars, and have lived under every form of government from a military dictatorship to a double-extra democratic republic. In Hayti they have even tried a Cæsarist empire with Tiberian debauchery. In fact, there is no member of Congress who, politically considered, is not a mere tyro compared to the youngest Haytian or St. Dominican voter. Sending them "free institutions," therefore, would be about as sensible as the venture of the celebrated Yankee trader who sent a cargo of warming-pans to Jamaica. What they want is a supply of character and ideas to enable them to work the institutions they have got, and character and ideas cannot be supplied by act of Congress. Therefore, when we are asked to annex Hayti, we ought to ask ourselves whether we are prepared to govern an island of this size as a dependency, and its government as a dependency is really what the annexationists are aiming at. The sly fellows know perfectly well that the people would behave no better in the Union than out of it, and would have to be handed over to Meade or Thomas; but then what a magnificent thing the "Hayti Ring" would be, with its mahogany, satin-wood, divi-divi, coffee, indigo, and tobacco, and the assessment and collection of taxes in the recesses of the tropical forests.

There appears to be little doubt that the Clarendon-Johnson convention will be rejected by the Senate, on the ground, taken it is said by General Grant, that the injuries sustained from England during the war are of such a nature that they cannot be adequately atoned for by compensation in money for the loss of a certain number of ships; that the sympathy extended by England to the South "prolonged the war for at least a year," and that she is, therefore, "directly responsible for all lives lost and money expended during this time." The opponents of the convention do not propose any present substitute for it, and do not contemplate a resort to war. Their plan is to leave the controversy open *in terrem*, either until England has been reduced to a more contrite mood, or until she is engaged in war with some other nation and can be subjected to exact retaliation. It does not seem likely, however, that any peaceful settlement of the question can ever be effected on the basis indicated in General Grant's objection. If an apology is what is wanted, no apology England is likely to put on paper will be any better compensation for the losses of a year of war than payment of the *Alabama* damages; nor is she likely to pay all "the money expended during a year of war," unless it can be shown that the prolongation of the war for this period was the result simply of English sympathy; nor is she likely to pay smart money for having sympathized with the wrong party in a contest to which she was a stranger. These are conditions to which nations have sometimes submitted at the close of a bloody and disastrous conflict, as the price of their existence, but they are not conditions of which diplomats talk before a shot has been fired. So that, though it may be the wisest thing to reject the Clarendon-Johnson convention and keep the controversy open, it is hardly wise to present to the public as the only proper basis of negotiation one which no lawyer or statesman familiar with foreign affairs believes to be in the least likely to be finally adopted. If everybody who exercised an unfavorable moral influence on the South during the war ought to pay a portion of the total expenses of every kind of putting down the rebellion, France ought to be mulcted heavily also, and all persons who voted the Democratic ticket in 1864 ought to pay double taxes.

The mode of disposing of Mr. Wells and his report to which the New York *Tribune* is resorting, is worth attention as an illustration of the part the press sometimes plays in the work of reform. Mr. Wells is a man of thoroughly scientific training, with a cultivated aptitude for the collection and collation of facts. He has been for four years engaged in the laborious examination of the state of the national industry, has taken evidence upon it in all parts of the country, has visited Europe for the purpose of the careful comparison of the labor and administrative systems of the two regions, and has been throughout his enquiries provided with all the influence and authority official position can give. He is, moreover, well known to be a man of cool, philosophic temper, without the slightest taste for, or experience in, party politics. In short, his selection for his present work, and the manner in which he has performed it, have been almost universally regarded by intelligent men both here and in Europe as one of the best signs of the times, as regards the financial future of the United States. He has come to conclusions in his last report, however, which are distasteful to a certain school of economists, or perhaps we should rather say of manufacturers, of which Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, is the newspaper champion. These conclusions, whether true or false, he supports by arguments in the shape of facts and figures carefully collected and arranged, and he presents them in temperate and modest language for the popular judgment. Hereupon Mr. Greeley commences to pour on him, in the *Tribune*, from day to day a torrent of abuse, accusing him of "juggling" and other forms of fraud, compares him to "Judas Iscariot," and carefully couples his name with that of Mr. Alexander Delmar, whose unfortunate career in the Bureau of Statistics is so well known, and in fact neglects no means of making him seem base, odious, and contemptible. It is making no new imputation on Mr. Greeley to say that his training, habits of mind and pursuits, especially during the past four years, have been of a nature to make his abuse of such a man on such a theme more than usually foolish and mischievous.

We have had during the week some remarkable illustrations of the condition of the civil service. The collector for this port, Mr. Smythe, became a candidate for the Russian mission, without any special qualification for the position, and without a single claim to it of any kind except his devotion to the President in his quarrel with Congress, and, let us add, without the least chance of being confirmed. This, however, does not prevent his leaving his post here and going to Washington to "lobby" vigorously in favor of his confirmation. Before engaging in this enterprise he had appointed to a clerkship in the custom-house the notorious E. A. Pollard, the historian of the *Lost Cause*, and the most truculent and ferocious of the Richmond journalists during the war. The selection of such a person for a place in the Government employment was too great an absurdity, to use a mild term, to allow us to suppose that Mr. Smythe did it except under strong pressure, and without knowing well both the man and his antecedents. Pollard, as might have been expected, swallowed the oath as if it had been a cocktail, and entered on his duties; but his appointment leaking out, and being used against Mr. Smythe's confirmation, he was unceremoniously dismissed, on the ground that Mr. Smythe did not know who he was when he appointed him, but, Pollard says, under a special arrangement by which he was to send in his resignation and keep away from the custom-house, but draw his salary all the same; the distinguished historian apparently not having the slightest consciousness that such a story, even if true, reflects any discredit on him. While all this is going on, it comes out that the clerks in the drawback department of the custom-house have been for more than a year in a league with swindlers out of doors, for the purpose of cheating the Government out of drawbacks on goods never exported or even in existence, and have succeeded in cheating it out of over a million of dollars. Taken together, the three incidents show that the custom-house, as at present managed, is really a greater disgrace to the Government which sustains it and a greater demoralizer of the community than the public gambling houses of the little German princes, over which we have so often held up our hands and rolled up our eyes. When one considers that, according to the War Horses, we cannot adopt Mr. Jenckes's mode of selecting employees for this blessed institution without establishing an "aristocracy" and imperilling free government on this continent, it will be admitted that the devil has brought his arrangements in this part of the world to extraordinary perfection.

The controversy between Mr. H. C. Carey and M. Benard has been renewed in the *Journal des Economistes* by a reply from M. Benard, in which he alleges that his (M. Benard's) report of Mr. Carey's language with regard to slavery at the meeting of the Economical Society was correct, and that Messrs. Paul Coq and Villiaumé have authorized him to adduce their testimony also in support of the charge. He then goes on to cite passages from Mr. Carey's work on the "Slave Trade," published in 1853, in which the author says that free-trade and slavery are parts of the same system, and that slavery flourishes wherever there is free-trade, and declines wherever there is protection, and that the road to emancipation in the United States lay through a high tariff. He does not add, but we think we cannot be wrong in inferring it from what he says, that he believes a free-trader to be naturally a friend of slavery. It thus appears that while one school of protectionists consider free-traders supporters and promoters of slavery, one school of free-traders consider protectionists to be supporters and promoters of slavery, and we are, as far as authority is concerned, as far from the truth as ever. Would not rigid investigation show that the real bent of the protectionist is towards highway robbery, as being the quickest and most energetic mode of restricting men in the choice of a market, while the free-trader's darling vices are adultery and embezzlement, as affording him the best means of emphatic protest against "the interference theory of government?"

In Ireland there are signs, such as there have never been, not even in the golden age of 1782, of real union, and real progress, both social and political, as the consequence of union. The Protestants seem to have made up their minds that there is no hope for the Established Church, and this conviction seems to be turning the heads even of the Orangemen of the North toward co-operation with the Catholics in

favor of tenant right and other reforms which have hitherto failed in Parliament simply because there was nothing like united action amongst the people to oppose to landlord hostility. A steady popular demand, made by all creeds, for a reform of the land laws, and expressed in firm and moderate language, could not be resisted in London; but the co-operation of the Protestants is essential, because, as has been said of the English troops in the Indian army, they are to Irish agitation what the steel point is to the lance. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the spirit in which the Catholic bishops are meeting Mr. Gladstone, which is frank and fair as well as cordial. They declare their perfect readiness to accept equality of all denominations before the law as the sum of their desires, while agreeing that in disestablishment all vested interests shall be religiously respected. But the educational question is still plainly one of the rocks ahead, as the bishops insist on the public schools being divided amongst the different religious denominations, or, at all events, on having a certain proportion of them, or of the educational funds, handed over to the Catholic clergy; in other words, they seek what they seek here, and would like to get everywhere, but what every government in Europe, even in Catholic countries, now denies them.

On the other hand, it is the confident expectation of some of the best observers of Irish society that, the pressure of Protestant ascendancy once gone, the same spirit of resistance to clerical domination and the same growth of the secular spirit in legislation which are to be witnessed amongst the laity of all other Catholic countries, will be witnessed in Ireland. A Catholic Lord Chancellor, Mr. Justice O'Hagan, late of the Queen's Bench, the first in one hundred and fifty years, has just taken his seat in the Court of Chancery, amidst great popular emotion, and one of his first acts was to subscribe \$500 to the building of a monument to protestant Grattan, accompanying the money with a fitting tribute to Grattan's memory. O'Hagan is one of the ablest, calmest, and wisest of the present generation of Irishmen, a great lawyer and, what is rarer in the United Kingdom, a great jurist, whose devotion to his own creed and race nobody has ever doubted, but who sees no hope for Ireland but in a more cordial and thorough union with England and a more earnest and skilful participation in English public life.

The Greco-Turkish trouble seems to have at last reached its conclusion in the acceptance by Greece of the recommendations of the Paris Conference. There has been something artistic in the whole performance, both on the part of the Turks and Greeks. The Turkish "ultimatum" was, in its way, a fine piece of bunkum, and so was the lofty refusal of the Porte to take part in the conference if Greece were admitted to it on a footing of equality. Then the gradual but reluctant concurrence of the belligerents in the conclusions of the Conference was a very delicate piece of acting. Turkey had to take time to consider, and the money markets waited in dread suspense while the Divan was meditating. But then it was expected all along that its final decision would be favorable to peace. Greece did better, and robbed the peacemakers of all hope, and filled the newspapers with rumors that at Athens the air was full of blood and thunder, and that no human power could stay the arm of M. Bulgaris. However, even Athens has come down, and nobody will be hurt on the present occasion. The final tableau, in which the Greek cabinet appears divided, with a bare majority of one for peace, was appropriate and picturesque. The affair will, however, probably act as a warning to the Great Powers, and hasten the solution of the Eastern question. The Greeks are not very formidable as a political community, but they have it in their power, clearly, to convulse Europe by resolutely assailing Turkey at an opportune moment—that is, at a moment when one or two of their protectors are ready to fight. We have had no war this time, because no one was prepared for it; but the Athenian politicians might begin their little game again on a signal from Austria or Prussia or Russia, and in a week the Continent would be plunged into a great conflict. Whether the Hellenes will ever become sober-minded enough to play their cards with real skill, as the Italians did, and reap real advantages from the jealousies of the Great Powers, remains to be seen.

THE GEORGIA DIFFICULTY.

As soon as the Georgia Legislature expelled the negro members everybody was sensible that a new and exciting subject of controversy had been opened, namely, the power possessed by Congress to exact from the reconstructed States the continued observance of the conditions on which they had been readmitted to the Union. Suppose any State evaded or repudiated these conditions, was there any remedy for the evasion or repudiation; and if so, what was its nature and where was it to be found? There were very few who did not believe, during the debates on the Reconstruction Act, that once the States were back in the Union the power of Congress over them was gone, and that after the new governments had been organized the negroes and Unionists would, beyond the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, have nothing to rely upon, either for ascendancy or safety, but their own ability and dexterity and the general progress of society. Few people liked to say anything on this point, however. The Democrats did not care to talk about it, because they feared that by calling Republican attention to it they would prolong military rule at the South; the Republicans said nothing about it, because, though it was undoubtedly the weak point in the whole scheme of reconstruction, they were not prepared with a remedy or substitute. The question, How was the observance of the conditions of the Reconstruction Act to be permanently enforced? was one which went, it was felt, to the very foundations of the Government—down to the very deepest depths of political philosophy and constitutional law, and therefore, by almost unanimous consent, it was let alone. Many of our Radical contemporaries made light of it, but their hilarity was plainly forced. They never seriously believed, and do not believe now, and even begin to confess that they do not believe, that the negro armed with the ballot is going to be able, in a democratic community, to outgeneral and outvote such consummate masters of the electioneering art as the Southern whites have always shown themselves to be. It was hoped, therefore, by all lovers of peace and quiet, that the point would never be forced on public attention in any practical shape: that the machinery set up and put in motion by the Reconstruction acts, if it did not last for ever, would last until the passions and memories which had made it necessary had died out, and the Unionists of the South, whether black or white, had undergone political absorption.

The point, however, has come up in a practical shape. Georgia fulfilled all the requirements of the act; was formally readmitted to the Union; sent representatives to the House, who were allowed to take their places; obtained release from military rule; and elected a senator, who now applies for his seat. The Senate is now asked to refuse to receive him, on the grounds (1) that the Legislature of Georgia was not competent to, and did not, "duly ratify" the Fourteenth Amendment and comply with the other conditions imposed by the Act of June 25, 1868, inasmuch as it contained a certain number of disloyal persons not qualified to hold office, and was therefore not the lawful Legislature of the State; (2) that the Legislature and people have committed "such acts of usurpation and outrage" as to unfit the State to be represented in Congress; and (3) that on the whole case, taking the action of Georgia before and since "the pretended ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment," no civil government had been established in the State which Congress ought to recognize.

The whole matter was referred to the Judiciary Committee, from which a majority report has been presented by Mr. Stewart, of Nevada, against the admission of Mr. Hill, to the conclusion of which only Messrs. Conkling and Frelinghuysen gave their adhesion, being apparently ready to exclude Mr. Hill under the discretionary power of the Senate, but also apparently ashamed of the arguments by which Mr. Stewart advocates this conclusion. The report, therefore, though in form a majority report, is in reality that of Mr. Stewart simply, and the ground it takes is that although the Legislature of Georgia was properly elected and convened, and although it instituted a formal enquiry into the qualifications of its members, that enquiry was not properly conducted, and some members were allowed to retain their seats who under the Fourteenth Amendment were disqualified for office. Therefore, he argues, the Legislature was an illegal body, and its ratification of the amendment was null and void. He

thus assumes two things which may well be called startling; the first is that the judgment of a State legislature on the qualifications of its own members is not final, but may be reviewed and overruled by Congress, without other evidence than, as in the case before us, a newspaper report of the proceedings; the second is that the presence in a legislature of a small number of members not qualified to sit invalidates all its subsequent proceedings, and amounts to the same thing as if *all* the members were disqualified—a doctrine which would of course throw a doubt over the validity of the proceedings of every legislature in the country, Congress included, for in all of them persons in the first session, at least, take part in legislation who are afterwards unseated. It would probably be difficult to hit on a better plan for promoting anarchy than the deliberate adoption of any such principle, unless it be the doctrine that no man need obey a law till the court of last resort has pronounced it constitutional. The second reason assigned in the report for not admitting Mr. Hill is that, a month after his election, the Legislature expelled all the colored members from their seats—the committee being of opinion "that there is no distinction in the right to hold office on account of race or color," and being "quite confident that such was the opinion of Congress at the time it approved that constitution." Here Mr. Stewart advances one step further, and maintains that the misconduct of the State Legislature on the 3d of September renders null and void what it did on the 28th of July previous, and it is difficult to see why this invalidating power of the "outrages" committed by it should not go back to the very beginning of its sittings and affect *all* its official acts.

But he does not stop here. His fourth reason for refusing a seat to Mr. Hill is that, according to the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, "there were 336 cases of murder and felonious assaults between January 1 and November 15, 1868, for all of which there had been no legal redress, and hardly any attempt on the part of the authorities to punish the criminals." The proposition here presented for our acceptance is that the failure of the police and legal tribunals of a State to prevent or punish crime with what Congress may consider the proper degree of efficiency will also furnish a sufficient cause for refusing to admit the State representatives to Congress—a doctrine which would place the representation of every State at the mercy of a party majority, inasmuch as there are not many States in which it may bear to be said, just now, that they afford adequate protection for life and property. What did the Indiana senators, for instance, feel, or those of New York, when they heard this argument read?

Mr. Trumbull has presented a minority report, in which he shows conclusively that Mr. Hill, the senator elect, is, and always has been, a loyal Union man; that he was duly elected by the Legislature of Georgia; that the Reconstruction acts provide that "when the people of the said rebel States shall be *by law* admitted by representation in the Congress of the United States" the provisional governments shall cease to be provisional; that on the 25th of June, 1868, Congress, *by law*, declared Georgia admissible to representation on certain terms and conditions; that General Meade officially certified the fulfilment of some of these conditions; that the remaining one—the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment—was duly proclaimed by the President, and the Georgia representatives were thereupon duly admitted to the House; that members of both the Reconstruction and Judiciary Committees of the House, including Mr. Boutwell, telegraphed to General Meade that the Legislature itself was the proper judge of the qualifications of its members. If, therefore, the Reconstruction acts had any force, Georgia is now as much a State in the Union as New York; and to deprive her of representation on the grounds brought forward by Mr. Stewart is just as great an act of usurpation as it would be to expel Messrs. Morgan and Conkling because of the late election frauds in this city, or the failure of the police to catch the Rogers murderer. If the Reconstruction acts had no force, but were merely a device resorted to make things pleasant and prosperous preparatory to the Presidential election, then the Republican politicians have been guilty of a great piece of imposture. In fact, if the Democrats are in need of a campaign document, the history of the Reconstruction legislation, with

the majority report on the Georgia senatorship annexed, would be as effective as anything we know of.

If we are asked what we propose as a substitute for what Congress is doing, or whether we mean seriously to maintain that Congress ought not to interfere for the prevention of such outrages as the expulsion of colored members from the Legislature, and such violations of the Constitution as the appearance in it of disloyal persons unpurged of their treason, we reply, in the first place, that nobody has any right to address such questions to us, because we never ceased to say to those who cared to listen to us, during the last two years, that the Reconstruction acts could not possibly reform Southern society; that the ballot could not furnish the negro with complete protection; and that, therefore, the hurrying of act on act through Congress under "the previous question," without debate or reflection, was unnecessary and mischievous; that to readmit a State to the Union under these acts was to relinquish all extraordinary control over it, and to leave Unionists to the ordinary sources of safety and prosperity, viz., the sense of justice and love of order of their neighbors, and their own courage and energy and good sense. As might have been expected, however, those noisy and vituperative supporters of the Reconstruction policy of Congress who not only maintained that it was the best policy Congress could pursue, but that it was a perfect political panacea and blackguarded everybody who ventured to criticise it, and shrieked with delight over "the regeneration" of such States as framed constitutions under it, are now among the first to counsel the total repudiation of it and the restoration of military government, or, in other words, the complete stultification of the Republican party before the world. We cannot help feeling that what has been done cannot be undone; that for the government of the South by the whites, in fact, if not in form, there is only one substitute—military force; that this the North has relinquished, too hastily, as we thought, and think still, but no return to it is now possible; and that for the real regeneration of that region we must trust hereafter to education, to popular intelligence, to the growth of industry, and the enforcement of the Constitutional Amendment in the manner pointed out by Mr. Trumbull—penal legislation in execution of it—and not to doubtful and dangerous attempts to destroy the independence of State legislatures.

THE WORKING-MAN'S VIEW OF CAPITAL.

THE labor problem—that is, the means of raising the laboring population out of the condition of dependence on the capitalists in which they have always lived, and, in spite of the prodigious advances made within the present century in the means of production, still continue to live—was, until very recently, discussed by members of the capitalist class only. The leading economical writers, even of the French communistic school, have all been drawn from the middle or upper classes of society, and if not capitalists themselves, have been educated among capitalists, or brought up in a position to see the world from the capitalist's point of view. Even the leaders of the great "working-man" movement in France, in 1848, were lawyers or journalists, and the great Socialist leader of Germany, Lasalle, belonged to the same category. Nobody not a Socialist has waged such effective war on the Continent against what the working-man has long considered his great enemy, the principle of competition, as Sismondi, but Sismondi was "a gentleman and scholar." In England the men who have been making most fuss about the wrongs of the laboring classes, in the press and on the platform, have been university men, who never did what working-men call work, who dine with duchesses, and spend their evenings in clubs, and preach political economy, and in various other ways prove their unfitness really to speak for the working-man.

Now, the interest in the working-man's condition, and the general conviction that it was unsatisfactory, could not and did not exist very long without creating a very general desire to hear what the working-man had to say about it, and how the existing social arrangements appeared from his stand-point. This, combined with his own increasing political weight in nearly every community, and his increasing power of organization and combination, created by practice in the formation and management of trade societies, has at last ended in producing

labor conventions "composed of working-men only," in which their condition and possibilities form the sole subjects of discussion. We have spoken more than once in the *Nation* of the first great gathering of this kind held at Geneva, in 1867. Others have since followed. In this country they have been very numerous within the last five or six years, but the most important, owing to the high position in point of intelligence generally accorded to the laboring population of New England, has recently been held in Boston, and has been addressed by a large number of the orators, working-men, and others who make a profession of dissatisfaction with society as it is.

From the deliberations of all these assemblies, as well as from the labor platforms which occasionally make their appearance before elections, and the declarations which labor organizations exact of candidates, it is not difficult to extract the economical and political ideas by which the working-classes, at least in the great manufacturing districts, are permeated. Touching the nature and functions of capital, they are utterly at variance with all economical writers. These writers hold capital to be a portion of past production, saved for future use by persons who, had they been so minded, might have spent it in personal enjoyment. For instance, they say, if a working-man saves a portion of his wages and puts it in a savings-bank, it becomes thereupon capital, and the bank lends it as such to persons who use it to assist in further production. Of course the phenomenon becomes a trifle more complicated when we see capital accumulated in large masses in the hands of persons who have not themselves saved it, or who have inherited it or made it by speculation; but the origin of capital and its uses remain the same, no matter by whom held or in what quantity. The absence of capital in a community, such as savage or newly settled countries, means simply that nobody has any savings of past production by him, on which he can live while producing more.

No theory of political economy seems easier to apprehend, and yet the most talkative and agitating portion of the laboring class have not got hold of it. To them capital is simply "money," and need not represent anything at all or be itself the product of any but the most trifling labor. It may, for instance, consist in pieces of paper with a word or two printed on them, such as General Butler wants to have the Government issue as circulating medium, each not worth more intrinsically than half a cent, though called "one thousand dollars." Seeing, therefore, that capital is necessary in industry, and that the possession or non-possession of it, in most cases, decides whether a man shall labor with his head or his hands, and believing the Government to possess the power of manufacturing it in any quantity, they look on the capitalist as a monopolist into whose hands the Government plays, and who selfishly retains for himself a commodity in which all ought to share. This notion crops out, of course, in different ways in different countries. In France, it used to take the shape of a demand that the government should establish banks to supply the poor with "credit"—that is, loans of money—their claim to which was to rest rather on their necessities than on the probability of their repaying it, credit being in the eyes of the Socialists (another of their curious departures from the received commercial ideas) not a thing to be earned by thrift, honesty, and sagacity, but one of a man's "natural rights" which was denied him every time a capitalist refused to discount his bill. In Germany, the source to which the working-man was to look for capital formed the great ground of the celebrated controversy between Lasalle and Schultze-Delitzsch, Lasalle holding to the French theory, that the government ought to supply it—Schultze-Delitzsch preaching, and happily with success, that capital was the product of saving, and that if working-men wanted it they should create it by their own labor, or borrow it from banks set up with their own funds, and maintained, as all banks are, by the honesty and prudence of their customers. At a great labor convention held in this country two years ago, the difficulty was met by a proposal that the Government should supply twenty-five million dollars in "capital" to working-men to aid in delivering them from their employers, and we observe that the recent convention in Boston heartily endorse General Butler in his efforts to get rid of gold and silver, the use of which he and the working-men consider the root

of the monopoly, and substitute slips of paper issued by the Government. Here again the theory that capital is composed of savings, or has any necessary connection with past labor and self-denial, is evidently held in utter contempt.

One of the natural results of this way of looking at capital is intense hostility to interest, the taking of which a "professor" at the Boston convention expressed his hope of seeing one day treated as "a crime." This hostility is, of course, a very old fallacy, with the origin and history of which everybody is familiar, but amongst the working-men it rests on grounds different from those on which it rested in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The objection to it on the part of mediæval moralists and economists was, that money of itself produced nothing, and that therefore to charge for the use of it was to take payment for nothing. The working-man economists acknowledge that money produces—for what is money but capital?—but hold that inasmuch as everybody ought to have as much capital as he needs, the interest on loans of money is simply the form in which the present monopolists extort their gains from the public; in other words, it is not unlike a tax on air or light. It ought not to be, as the economists maintain it is, partly a reward for saving—or, in other words, for self-denial—and partly an inducement to save, because a man ought not to have to save; nor is it an insurance against the risk of non-payment, because nobody ought to have to borrow in such a manner that it would make any difference whether he paid or not.

On the subject of the distribution of wealth, or rather the best means of preventing its excessive accumulation in few hands, the working-men, like other people, seem to be a good deal divided in opinion. Judging from the talk at the labor conventions, however, they tend towards the adoption of the doctrine which is almost a corollary from their theory of capital which we have just been discussing—that, as all wealth is the product of labor simply, and not of labor and capital combined, as the economists erroneously maintain, the laborers ought to divide the results of production between them; so that there would be no large fortunes and no bloated capitalists and big moneyed corporations. This notion gets a good deal of support from the talk of the political demagogues, who always, in and out of Congress, speak of the rich as in some way a blameworthy and disreputable class, whom it would be no great harm to lay a heavy hand on. They are made the objects of excessive taxation, and frequently of pulpit denunciations. Wendell Phillips proposed the other day to make them pay the national debt; and, in fact, to listen both to the working-man agitators and the moral reformers, one would imagine that rich men were a curse to a community—a kind of social excrescence whom it would be well to get rid of, if it could be done without violating the Ten Commandments. At the bottom of this denunciation and dislike lies the working-man's notion that they are made rich by getting hold of money they have not earned, to which the poor were entitled. The term labor, too, is in all these speculations applied to hand labor simply. The labor of planning, contriving, combining, watching, superintending, is treated as if it did absolutely nothing for the country. What is perhaps most curious is, that human nature, as all the orators see it and know it, in themselves and their friends and neighbors, is absolutely excluded from consideration; for that most prominent and striking characteristic of human nature, for instance, dislike of labor, and the desire of leisure and enjoyment, no allowance is ever made. Just as the trades-unions do all they can to put laborers of all degrees of capacity, industry, and ambition on the same dead level as regards wages and hours of labor, the labor conventions talk as if they would like to take away from all members of society all material inducements to do more than their neighbor, either in producing or saving. The desire of saving they would destroy by preventing anybody from holding capital, or, if he held it, from getting anything from it by way of interest or profits. The spirit of adventure which lies at the bottom of all great commercial undertakings they would root out by forcing everybody who successfully encountered great risk to share his reward with the community at large; so that Jones, who, after twenty years of peril, trial, and toil, quickness of eye and soundness of judgment, had accumulated a fortune and proposed to live on his interest, would have to divide his substance with the Smiths, who had passed that period working in a

mill on weekly wages, of which the surplus went in bad whiskey. The very growth of civilization itself they would stop, by denying to people of refinement and culture the means of gratifying their tastes or following their favorite pursuits—thus preventing human society as a whole from offering its members the most valued of its prizes, the only prizes which are sufficient to stimulate men to the highest pitch of exertion, both mental and moral.¹

In fact, we do not know that we could offer to the managers of colleges, of schools, and other places of education, a more profitable subject of examination and reflection than these labor conventions, and the speeches made at them. They illustrate better than anything else could the enormous importance in democratic societies of the diffusion of economical knowledge, and the absolute necessity to such societies of the cultivation of the reason and the bridling of sentiment.

LEGALIZATION OF CAUCUSES.

SOME months since the directors of the Union League Club of Philadelphia offered prizes for four essays on the subject of legal organization of parties for the purpose of selecting candidates for office; in other words, on legalizing caucuses. The essays have lately been printed, and their appearance will no doubt do something towards increasing public discontent with the caucus system, but none of them, in our opinion, do much to clear the public mind.

The evils of which these essays treat are the familiar ones which we have so long been accustomed to hear attributed to the caucus—the disappearance from the political stage of men of culture and refinement, and its occupation by ignorant and corrupt partisans, regardless of the public interest, eager for place and utterly unscrupulous in their choice of means for obtaining it, and the selection by bodies of this nature of candidates for office unfit in every way for the positions they are chosen to fill. These two calamities—the deterioration of the character of party managers, and at the same time of the candidates nominated by them—are those which are generally embraced under the term "evils of the caucus system." It is easy to understand the intellectual process by which the conclusion is reached that by bringing the caucus within the pale of the law we can eradicate these glaring vices which beset our system. For it is in the caucus that all the base trickery and corruption which is rife throughout the country, sapping the foundations of law and order, filling the bench, the bar, and the legislature with its subtle poison, festers to a head. Here may be seen what elsewhere may only be suspected; here is visual demonstration that knaves and ignoramuses manage the wires of our machine; there the whole rout of managers, wire-pullers, and log-rollers gather together and make sport of the honest and orderly people whose delegates they are supposed to be. You may suspect, for example, that a good deal of chicanery and humbug enters into the selection of a member of Congress, but it is proved to you when you see a caucus listening without a word of protest to barefaced falsification of public documents, or nominating as representative a man who had openly avowed deceit as his profession; you may have heard it whispered that "politics" had its effect on the Supreme Court, but when a judge opens a bar-room in New York in connection with a Presidential caucus you see that it is so. In short, the caucus furnishes to every one an exhibition of political rascality and hypocrisy in full play and energy. This being so, is it not the most natural thing in the world to pass at once to the conclusion that it is the caucus itself which is corrupting us?

¹ It is much easier to impute the blame of the evils of a state of society to something seen, patent, of everyday occurrence, than to attempt to trace the difficulty to its remote and anterior cause. And having thus decided that the eruption and not the state of the blood is to be considered, that the caucus is not symptom but disease, we proceed to apply the orthodox remedy in the shape of an enactment. It is one of the most curious features of modern society, the era of legislation having fairly set in, that the moment any trouble occurs in any part of the system a dose of law is at once recommended by all the doctors. If people intoxicate themselves, let a law straightway be passed that no one shall sell liquor; if a tax cannot be collected at one dollar, because people will rather cheat than pay it, let a law be passed

making it two dollars; if government bills are below par, make it penal to sell gold; if a respectable business does not pay, make it pay by giving it a monopoly. Or, to take our own case, if voluntary associations for the purpose of choosing candidates for office result in the selection of bad candidates, all that is necessary for a complete reform would seem to be an enactment that the associations should cease to be voluntary. Make them legal, and the whole difficulty is surmounted. Or, in the words of the gentlemen who offered the prizes for these competitive essays, "Whereas, in a republican form of government it is of the highest importance that the delegates of the people, to whom the sovereign power is entrusted, should be so selected as to truly represent the body politic, and there being no provision of law whereby the people may be organized for the purpose of such selection; . . . and whereas, there are grave defects existing under the present system of voluntary organization, which it is believed may be corrected by suitable provisions of law; now, therefore, be it resolved," etc., etc., etc. It seems to us that those who suppose that, by making the caucus a legal instead of a voluntary body, patriotism and intelligence would resume their sway in nominating conventions, overlook entirely the fact that people cannot be made to do what they do not want to do by an enabling act.

Let us see how such a law would work. Mr. Came's proposal, and his is as good a one as could be suggested, is as follows:

"In all cases let the State make provision for an accurate registry list. At a specified time, previous to any election at which candidates are to be voted for, let the list be put in the charge of any officer of the district whose duties or office facilities best fit him for the purpose, whether it be the warden of a ward, the clerk or treasurer of a city, or whatever officer of a town or precinct the law may designate or authorize each municipality to select for itself. Such officer shall be required, for a certain number of consecutive days or evenings, to provide two ballot-boxes, marked respectively with the names of the two leading parties at the last election preceding, for the reception, under the usual regulations against fraudulent voting, of names of candidates to be voted for at the next subsequent election. As each legal voter deposits his ballot the presiding officer shall check his name in the list, with the letter indicating into which box it was cast, as "R" for Republican and "D" for Democrat. At the close of the voting period said officer shall count the ballots in each box, and the highest number in each bearing the same name shall be considered as designating the regular candidate or, if the ticket embraces more than one name, candidates of each party; and the officer shall so make and publish the sworn returns in any manner which may be directed by law.

"To provide for the exigency of third or new parties, said officer shall be empowered to open other additional ballot-boxes whenever a legally designated proportion of the whole number of voters in the district—one-twelfth—shall so petition him in writing, and he shall label said box or boxes as the petitioners may request. A like petition shall cause him to substitute any party name for that which was used at the preceding election."

Is it not clear that at the election succeeding the passage of any such law the party managers would only have to begin work a little earlier than usual in order to secure their object? A week or so before the quiet citizens of the ward or district cast their nominating ballots, the party leaders would hold their voluntary caucus in the usual place, nominate the regular ticket, and then would solemnly assure every voter, as they do now, that if he bolted he would endanger the success of the party. And so he undoubtedly would. The managers nominate John Smith, and it is found two weeks later that Brown is the choice of the legal caucus. The managers know all about both Brown and Smith. The people do not, and never can, for they have not the leisure to make a specialty of studying the careers of every office-holder in their State. The manager takes you aside and whispers in your ear that Brown was the fellow who in the year 185—made that unfortunate attack on the ballot, or who in 186—pursued such an unpopular course on impeachment, or who was notoriously an aristocrat and addicted to kid gloves. In short, Brown was not an available man, and though personally of the very highest character, and just the sort of man he would like, for himself, to see at Washington, still the interests of the party were, after all, of greater weight, etc., etc. In short, Brown would before the election come to be regarded as a dangerous fellow, and Smith would be triumphantly elected. And the year after we may be sure the "legal" nomination would not draw many persons to the polls. The voluntary convention would have resumed

its sway, and one more useless wheel would have been added to machinery already intricate. The true way to enforce the new system would be to make all other meetings than that of the nominating convention, and of the citizens at the polls, illegal and punishable by fine and imprisonment, and by passing at the same time a statute forcing all citizens to take part in the nominations under pain of disfranchisement or whatever other penalty would seem best fitted to the case. By adopting Mr. Came's plan you only make the caucus system a little more complicated than it now is, and complication is what managers delight in.

We have already intimated a belief that the debased condition of the caucus is rather to be considered as affording evidence of the debased state of political sentiment in the community than as itself the prime cause of corruption. The radical difficulty is in the character of the men intimately connected with politics throughout the country. If these were the honorable, the patriotic, and the wise, the caucus would be composed of the honorable, patriotic, and wise. In any country which is divided by parties, there arises the necessity of some consultation before the critical moment arrives in which the parties are to contend for the victory. It is manifestly impossible for a party to vote blindly with any chance of success, and a convention to nominate the man who will at once command most votes among his own partisans and draw away most votes from the enemy becomes a necessity. In the earlier history of the United States such conventions were constantly held and the system received no abuse. But the political class was a different one in those days. Removals taking place for cause, it was impossible to make a *trade* of party service. But forty years ago we introduced the principle into democratic government that offices were spoils, the proper prey of the victor. From that moment the management of party has been growing more and more corrupt. At present fifty thousand offices are open to the competitive rascality of these low enough to be tempted to compete. These are the prizes for which the hungry delegates to caucuses enter the lists. Nor do the aspirants after office only engage in the conflict; the office-holders must do the same, lest their more active rivals outstrip them. The body of the caucus come together for the purpose of defending or attacking particular persons, of removing or relieving from fear of removal their friends and enemies; not, as formerly, for the purpose of nominating fit men for office. Take any country town you please, and you will find the most active man at all conventions, the hottest, most virulent partisan, is some fellow who is perpetually assuring every one that "he don't want no office," and is well understood by all who know him to have been intriguing for the postmastership for years. These are the men who bring the caucus system into discredit. It is not the caucus which lies at the root of the matter, but the system which has produced the class which composes the caucus. So long as we have fifty thousand men trembling from hour to hour for their official life, and two hundred thousand more thirsting for the official blood of the first fifty thousand, so long shall we have mean, petty motives entering into the selection of candidates, and so long will it be impossible for purity and honorable intelligence to obtain control of the Government.

IS THERE SUCH A THING AS SEX?

We propound the above question in no bantering, jocose, or trifling spirit, but in all gravity and seriousness of mind. Some may think it foolish, remembering what point the physiologists make of sex, finding it in trees and plants, and even in organic nature, where elements and gases combine somewhat after the masculine and feminine manner. But while the distinction between male and female is traced through the lowest orders of creation, is there not a disposition to slough it over in the highest orders, as being a fact of secondary and incidental import, a fact apparent in the animal and physical economy, but not pertinent to the social economy or the spiritual; a fact that becomes thin and precarious and insignificant as men and women leave their bestial condition, and is destined to disappear in the fulness of humanity? Apostles of "a-sexualism," if we may so name it, are abroad in this generation, suggesting that the old distinction between men and women may be an ancient delusion doomed to pass away in the new order of civilization. Did not an apostle say, "In Jesus Christ is neither male nor female, but a new creature?" And shall not that crea-

ture be both male and female in one? The orthodox formula ran, "Man and woman are one, but the man is the one." A new reading is, "Man and woman are one, but the one is the woman." The correct rendering will be, "There is neither man nor woman any more. Humanity abolishes both." So seem to say the zealous champions of the hitherto "suppressed sex," persuaded that the admission of sex has been the ground of the "suppression." They see no way of securing for woman her rights short of disavowing the existence of the quality that has all along been supposed to constitute her a woman. She must be educated precisely as if she were a man. She must go into the market and appear in court on the same terms with men. Civil life must recognize no difference between masculine and feminine. In the political world her place must be undistinguished from that of her companion biped, whose extremities are otherwise clothed and whose countenance is otherwise adorned. The intellectual sphere has no separate nook or seat for either a worse or a better half. The soul knows no gender.

We hope that we appreciate the motives that animate the workers in the cause of woman's elevation. We are fully sensible of the fact that they are laboring to throw off burdens of great oppression, to correct the errors of centuries, to place one-half of the human family, and the most interesting half of it, in its true position. We wish them every fair success in their enterprise. But laws are laws, distinctions are distinctions, and facts are facts. Or, haply, are there no such things as laws, distinctions, and facts? Admit that the differences between the sexes are not yet determined with the nicest exactness, is it fair to assume that no differences exist?

Now, it may be a superstition of ours, but we too are inclined to think in this immense field of modern discussion one thing, at least, may be taken for granted—and that thing is, *sex*. Sidney Smith once remarked, with the wit that was not always wisdom, that if boys and girls were taught alike they would soon be undistinguishable from each other; and he said it as if he hoped they one day would be. We are sorry for those parents of large families of unmarriageable daughters who indulge the same hope, but we cannot encourage them in the belief that it will be speedily fulfilled. Sidney Smith died before the era of physiology came in. That era affirms sex more absolutely than it was ever affirmed before. The more deeply human nature is searched, the more sharp and trenchant is found to be the line that cuts it into two halves. The fact of sex is comprehensive, complete and exhaustive. The unlikeness between men and women is radical and essential. It runs through all the spheres. Distinct as they are in bodily form and feature, they are quite as distinct in mental and moral characteristics. They neither think, feel, wish, purpose, will, nor act alike. They take the same views of nothing. The old statements that one is passive, the other active; one emotional, the other moral; one affectionate, the other rational; one sentimental, the other intellectual, are likely to be more than verified by science. Of course these statements, whether verified or not, do not justify the imposition of arbitrary limits on opportunity or enterprise. It still remains to be determined what place each shall fill, what work each can do, what standard each can reach; and these nature should be left to determine. But that both cannot occupy the same place, do the same work, or reach the same standard, ought, we think, to be assumed. Nature has decreed it so. The exigencies of life demand that it should be so. More emphatically still, if that could be, the amenities of life, the sentiment, romance, poetry, personal, domestic, social delight and charm of life insist that the distinction shall be preserved. No doubt it will be preserved if it is decreed. Nothing we can do will impair the force of a predetermined law. But we should be careful to acknowledge it where it plainly appears. We have no right to assume that it ever will be or can be abrogated. To proceed as if such an eternal distinction did not or should not exist is to plunge into all manner of difficulty. Make experiments, but confess that they are experiments. Venture theories, but avow them to be theories. Do not mistake surmise for demonstration, or enthusiasm for knowledge, or desire for insight, or passion for principle, or a wish to improve society for a conviction that the particular change is an improvement. Do not adroitly substitute a conclusion for a premise, and then press reforms as demanded by the "nature of things," when the "nature of things" may be directly against them. So long as the suffrage and other revolutions are regarded as experiments designed to feel after the lines and limits that sex claims for itself—so much and only so much—no harm need follow. The spirit of reform is then scientific. But if it is taken as accepted that sex has no lines or limits, but is a name to which no deep reality corresponds, immense harm will be done; for then the apparent failure of the reform will be traced to the wrong origin, and will yield no fruits but those of fanaticism.

Thus far the element of sex stubbornly holds its own. Nothing has occurred yet to induce the belief that men and women can profitably or successfully exchange parts or perform the same parts. It has been shown that men have been doing some things that women might do as well or better; but it has not been shown that men and women may put on precisely the same equipment or perform precisely the same service. The notion is fanciful that by educating the sexes together they will outgrow the old folly of romantic sentiment, and will live in the undisturbed serenity of a single sex beneath a single roof. The discipline at Oberlin, we are assured, is very strict, and strictly administered, with a view to prevent scandal. At Antioch, Horace Mann was tormented by a ceaseless anxiety. Even in normal schools—where the students are for the most part "out of their teens," past the sentimental period, unusually intellectual, under severe mental discipline, qualifying themselves to teach for a livelihood, with little time or disposition for dreaming—intellectual rivalry does not abolish the distinction between the two sexes of scholars. No scandalous disorders disgrace the institution, but the secrets of hearts are unrevealed, save by an occasional engagement, which discloses the fact that all the ladies are not Minervas, nor all the gentlemen Platonists.

The industries of modern society offer room and opportunity for the genius of either sex to demonstrate its scope. Male and female may divide employments without quarrel or question, nor would it be difficult to assort them even now in advance of experiment. The learned professions have their masculine and feminine aspects. In medicine there is a very broad and well-marked department where the feminine qualities of patience, sympathy, tenderness, tact, perception, nicety of touch and manipulation, administrative care and sensibility, can render admirable service—departments which fairly belong to women. In divinity it is not hard to discover a male and a female side. For the adequate discharge of pastoral offices men and women are required. The Catholic Church provides them both, carefully distinguishing the parts that belong to each. The Protestant minister has a wife whom the congregation adopt as shepherdess, and hold to her duties accordingly. And now deaconesses and Protestant Sisters of Mercy are coming into vogue among the Evangelical denominations, a confession that the law of sex holds in the administration of the Gospel. The feminine side of the law is not so obvious to ordinary vision; but somewhere, perhaps, either in the upper spheres of equity, where the moral sentiment comes into play, or in the lower spheres of technicality, where mechanical assiduity carries off the palm, a place for women may be found.

Politics, it must be confessed, appear thus far to be prevailingly and stubbornly, if not incorrigibly, masculine. There is very little indeed to justify the conclusion that women, we mean the peculiar qualities of women, have a place in primary meetings, party caucuses, public debates, club-rooms, conventions, or any of the ordinary election arrangements. In discussing woman's place in politics, woman's claim to public offices, woman's title to suffrage, the element of sex is left out of view. Her claims are pressed on the ground of her humanity. She is considered as a person, an individual, a social entity, a property-holder, a payer of taxes, a morally responsible being, a creature endowed with reason. Her title is placed on the same ground with man's precisely. The suggestion of a temporal, actual, and radical distinction between the man and the woman, as portions of organized humanity, which may qualify in some degree the terms "rights," "duties," "responsibilities," is resented as an impertinence. The bare mention of masculine and feminine in this connection is regarded as a declaration of war against the reformers. Sex has nothing to do with government or the concerns of government.

We do not regret the movement towards universal suffrage. We do not deprecate the experiment of it. We merely insist that it shall be regarded as an experiment and nothing more, and its failure, if it fails, must be set down to the circumstance that it made no account of the law of sex. At present it is an experiment, and a crude one. That there have been illustrious female sovereigns; that a few remarkable women have displayed no inconsiderable diplomatic ability as counsellors, advisers, executors, is no proof that the sex as a sex is qualified for political service. That in some secluded towns and in quiet times, when no stirring movements were on foot and no exciting questions were raised, women have voted peacefully along with men, is no proof that men and women will ever vote peacefully together in large cities, or in times when politics run high. They may and they may not. No *d priori* theories will decide the question either for or against the success of the trial. That the element of sex will crop out somewhere, and will have its dues, there can in our judgment be no doubt. Where it will crop out, it would be presumption to say. Whether it will appear early or late, among the causes or the consequences, in

legislation or in practice under legislation, in the assignment of functions, or the distribution of trusts, or the apportionment of duties; whether it will break out violently in the form of quarrel between the sexes, or will show itself graciously in the shape of new civil arrangements defining woman's place in the civil order, it would be absurd to conjecture. But at some point, in some shape, to some purpose, the old distinction will declare its presence and vindicate its power. Men will continue to be men, and women will continue to be women, in spite of theorists. A careful analysis of the masculine and feminine characteristics might save time and trouble; but if we mean to leave science out, and rush upon the painful and confused methods adopted by the revolutionists, so be it. We shall come at the same results in the end. Only let us not prejudge the results.

THE SOCIAL STATE OF GREECE.

THE social state of Greece at present is peculiarly one of transition; *peculiarly so*, because while society can in no country—not even in China—be said to be stationary, in the case of Greece the movement has begun so recently and gone on so rapidly that the old and the new are brought into strong contrast, and the fact of transition cannot escape notice. The state of the nation is vividly presented to the eye by the city of Athens. It consists of two distinct parts; one Turkish, having narrow, winding streets with no sidewalks, a pretence of a gutter in the middle, and rough, one-story houses; the other European, with broad, well-built, and well-lighted streets. Between these two there is an intermediate space combining the characteristics of each, but the difference of one extreme from the other is greater than can be found in most other cities, and such as marks two stages of civilization. It typifies the extremes of Greek society, and brings almost into one view the starting-point and the goal of the national movement.

This transition is from the enforced barbarism of Turkish slavery to the civilization of freedom. It should be borne in mind that the Greeks were not merely a dependent nation tributary to the Turkish Government, before 1821, but in a state barely removed from personal slavery. In opportunities of education, in control of the profits of their labor, in protection from outrages on their persons and families, they were hardly as well treated as the average of the negro slaves in the South were. When by throwing off the burden of oppression they regained self-respect and motives for effort, an upward movement began in every part of the nation, which is still going on. It has set on foot a general system of education, developed an extensive commerce, built a number of carriage-roads at great labor and expense on account of the natural obstacles, and given opportunity for an indefinite amount of individual enterprise in all spheres of activity. We might say, in other words, that this was a transition from Asia to Europe, from Oriental to Western habits and modes of thought. The position of Greece in relation to the two continents makes it the more remarkable that it has wrought out a civilization so decidedly European. Look at it on the map. Notice how it trends eastward towards Asia and Africa, by how wide a space, nearly equal to the whole width of Germany across from the Adriatic to the North Sea, it is separated from civilized Europe, and remember what almost barbarous and impenetrable countries occupy this interval, and you will appreciate the marvel of modern Greek civilization. There still remain traces of the influence of Turkey in the social state of the people. Such are to be found in the neglect of agriculture and manufactures, in the position of woman, in a general corruption of language and moral sentiments. The recent presence of the Turks in Greece has left its mark also in the results of slavery under such masters: for example, the number of persons above middle age who are without education, the want of roads, the brutish modes of life among the common country people. But in spite of their exposure to Eastern influences, their separation from civilized Europe, and the degradation of their slavery, the Greeks show a very strong tendency to Europeanize themselves and to attain some degree of free civilization.

One of their earliest steps in this direction was to establish a system of education, in which they were guided by certain leading German scholars, and adopted the German system as their model. So they have now the system complete, with university, gymnasias, and, below these, two other grades, the Hellenic and the common schools. In all these the education is free, and the expenses are borne by the Government. The common schools correspond to our primary schools. In the Hellenic schools the study of classical Greek and Latin is begun, and the other branches of study carried on. The gymnasias add to these the modern languages as optional studies. The university is divided on the German plan into four schools, of law, medicine, theology, and philosophy, with a school of practical pharmacy added, and in these schools lectures are given by the professors

on subjects of their own choosing. Outside of these, there is in Athens a number of private schools for boys, covering the ground of the common and Hellenic in the national system, and of private girls' schools. The only public school for girls where anything more than elementary education is given is the Arsakeion, so named from its founder, which draws pupils from all parts of Greece, and sends them back to be teachers in the common schools. On the whole, a great effort has been made to secure a general education of the people, and the next generation can hardly fail to reap the benefits of it. Their zeal for this object is perhaps the most creditable point of the character of the modern Greeks. It is true the practical working of the system may be criticised, and the motive which prompts their zeal is not always the love of truth or desire of mental growth; but still such a system tends to correct its own faults, and may lead in time to the higher motives for self-culture. To have made such a beginning is an honor to the people, even though one can hardly help thinking it would have been wiser to have developed their material resources and laid a foundation for their finances first.

While the educational system of Greece is constructed after the German model, their literature has rather a French tone. You find in a catalogue of publications since 1820 numerous translations of such novels as those of Sue, Dumas, and Victor Hugo, with but few of books of any kind from other modern languages. Of original literature they have yet almost nothing. A few collections of popular songs, inferior to those made by Fauriel and Arnold Passow, a few volumes of fugitive pieces by educated modern poets, and some half-a-dozen volumes of essays and stories, are all the productions of the modern Greek mind in the sphere of pure literature. In special departments of study they have supplied their present needs by translations generally, but in philology, church history, and law have produced some original text-books and standard works. A great part of the intellectual activity of the Greeks works itself out in their newspapers, of which there are forty or fifty, including all kinds of periodicals, in Athens alone, none of them dailies, but the smaller ones appearing three, four, or five times a week. Of course, so many papers cannot be very well supported by so small a population (between 40,000 and 50,000), and especially as they contain often no more than one advertisement in a number. The newspapers proper are almost exclusively political, and overflow with rhapsodies about the past and future glories of Greece to a degree which even our old American papers scarcely rivalled.

Society in general shows the same Europeanizing tendency, with lingering traces of Oriental habits and ideas. Among the lower classes and in the country the latter still prevail. The houses are rudeley built, generally of stone, and often without glass in the windows. In dress and personal habits many of the people are almost barbarians. On the other hand, every town has its school, and in the larger ones there are newspapers, organized courts, the European dress, and many marks of growing civilization. The more educated classes are generally adopting the European dress; especially in the university, where none of the professors, and scarcely one in a hundred of the students, retain the picturesque Albanian costume which is the national Greek dress. In morals, too, something of the same transition is going on, though the improvement is still rather superficial. The vices born of slavery, such as deceit, want of self-reliance, and idleness, are rife among them. Drunkenness is common, but rather harmful as a waste of time and money than as a cause of crime. The Greek is not maddened by his drink, but excited and noisy. The spread of education and refinement is beginning to raise the people above the grosser vices, but the church does little to teach them positive morality, and it is to be feared that they will acquire only such as respectability demands.

Correspondence.

DR. BOWDITCH ON CONSUMPTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The remarks in your issue of the 7th ult. upon Dr. Bowditch's articles on consumption, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, seem to me to call for some comment, as otherwise they may have the effect to deprive these articles of much of their weight and authority. The remarks referred to plainly intimate that Dr. Bowditch's theory, that dampness of soil is the great cause of consumption, is the result of superficial investigations, which, if more persistently followed up, *might have* shown him that the geological structure of the soil was quite as efficient a cause.

Not to spend time in noticing a style of criticism which, in passing upon articles of so grave moment as those of Dr. Bowditch's, assumes ig-

norance on the part of their writer as to his subject, thereby, unintentionally perhaps, but none the less effectually, weakening their influence, while the critic justifies himself not with well-defined statements of fact, but by vague suggestions of possibilities, I beg leave to correct the impression which your article undoubtedly produced upon the minds of many of your readers by a statement of facts.

Dr. Bowditch has made consumption his study, and specialty in practice, for about thirty years, and in this vicinity, and, we had supposed, throughout the United States, as well as in Europe, he is recognized as an authority on all that relates to that most distressing disease. So that when he deliberately puts forward a theory, even giving it the dignity of a law, touching the causes of consumption or its proper treatment, his views should be received with great respect, whether supported by evidence and argument or not. But in this particular case it so happens that the positions taken by Dr. Bowditch are fortified by the most abundant and satisfactory proof from other highly respectable authorities. In the "Tenth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council" (London, 1868), Dr. Buchanan occupies fifty-three pages with a very interesting account of his investigations, under the auspices of Government, upon the subject of consumption as affected by conditions of soil. This is his preface: "The general sanitary enquiry which was entrusted to me last year having appeared to show a relation between wetness of soil and prevalence of consumption, the subject is now further examined with direct reference to geological considerations," and these are some of his general conclusions:

"The connection between soil and phthisis has been established in this enquiry

"(a) by the existence of general agreement in phthisis mortality between districts that have common geological and topographical features of a nature to affect the water-holding quality of the soil;

"(b) by the existence of general disagreement between districts that are differently circumstanced in regard to such features;

"(c) by the discovery of pretty regular concomitancy in the fluctuation of the two conditions, from much phthisis with much wetness of soil to little phthisis with little wetness of soil."

"But," he adds, "the connection between wet soil and phthisis came out last year in another way, which must here be recalled,

"(d) by the observation that phthisis had been greatly reduced in towns where the water of the soil had been artificially removed, and that it had not been reduced in other towns where the soil had not been dried.

"(e) The whole of the foregoing conclusions combine into one—which may now be affirmed generally and not of particular districts—that WETNESS OF SOIL IS A CAUSE OF PHTHISIS TO THE POPULATION LIVING UPON IT.

"(f) No other circumstances can be detected, after careful consideration of the materials accumulated during this year, that coincide on any large scale with the greater or less prevalence of phthisis, except the one condition of soil."

And, as indicating that mere geological structure has no influence upon consumption, he shows by tables that the position, as regards consumption of the chalk districts "will, on the whole, represent the order in which they would stand, if they were arranged according to the better or worse elevation of the chalk area on which the population live," and, generally, that, whatever the character of the substratum, the prevalence of consumption will be in proportion to the water-holding capacity of the surface soil, which, capacity is due to the nature of the surface soil itself, though it may be affected and modified by elevation and slope.

In a postscript Dr. Buchanan, after referring in a highly appreciative tone to Dr. Bowditch's experiments in the same direction, says: "Until the end of my own enquiry, I was in complete ignorance of Dr. Bowditch's researches. I should not insist upon this point except for the purpose of giving to the conclusions which Dr. Bowditch and myself have attained the additional weight that they deserve from having been arrived at by a second enquirer, wholly ignorant of and therefore unbiased by the work of the first."

I should not dwell at such length upon this matter did I not feel that Dr. Bowditch in contributing his articles in the *Atlantic* is conferring an invaluable benefit on our people, which ill-considered and reckless criticism by a paper of the *Nation's* standing might seriously impair.

R. H. B.

BOSTON, Jan. 25, 1869.

[We are really very sorry if anything we have said about Dr. Bowditch's articles has tended to lessen his influence or authority with anybody. The "Literary Note" (*vide Nation* of the 7th ult.) in which we drew attention to Dr. Haviland's labors, and suggested the possi-

bility of Dr. Bowditch's not having examined with special care the geological conditions of consumption, did not profess to be a formal criticism of his researches. It was no doubt rash or careless to suggest in that place his having overlooked anything or made any mistake, but "R. H. B." would have made the offence seem much more serious, and have more fully justified his own indignation and trouble of mind, if he had told us that Dr. Bowditch made formal mention of his geological investigations in the *Atlantic* article, and, furthermore, had not revealed the fact that even such an authority as Dr. Buchanan was as ignorant of them down to the close of last year as we were ourselves.—ED. NATION.]

THE FINANCIAL TENDENCIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As I do not believe in the efficacy of repealing God's laws by statute, either as affecting the value of money, the hours of labor, or the phases of the moon, I suppose I cannot be called, in popular parlance, an admirer or friend of the laboring man. I have recently read, however, Gen. Butler's late financial manifesto, and notice this resolution, passed at a recent "Labor Reform" Convention held in this city, at which Mr. Wendell Phillips made a speech:

"Resolved, That the late speech of General Butler in advocacy of the financial tendencies of the labor movement, placing him in the front rank of statesmen and economists, evincing at once profound political sagacity and heroic devotion to right, merits and will receive the unanimous support of all intelligent friends of labor throughout the Union."

Of course no educated or reasoning man would take the trouble to refute General Butler's fallacies or misstatements. They do not surprise any one who has observed their author in court or on the stump. Butler knows better. Whatever he is, he is not a fool, and none but a fool would utter such stuff believably. Butler, though no fool himself, believes evidently that he is addressing an audience of both fools and knaves. This speech was delivered for the masses, not for educated men, and is probably as mortifying an insult as was ever thrown in the face of people called intelligent. Butler is practically acting on Robert Lewes's theories. In his view the people are ignorant and they are dishonest, and the best way to popular success is to prey upon their dishonesty and their ignorance.

To students of theories of government the problem is an interesting one. If Butler is right; if our boasted system of education has resulted in this chaos of ignorance and knavery on which he lays the foundations of his future political success; if the whole country is as the Fifth Massachusetts Congressional District and the friends of "labor reform" in Boston, then our existing phase of popular government and general education is a hopeless failure. Robert Lewes is right, and mankind is not fit for self-government.

I think myself that Butler has miscalculated. Our people are intelligent enough to see through fallacies too transparent to admit of exposure. At the same time one's faith is somewhat shaken when a really intelligent constituency, as constituencies go, like his, does not resent such barefaced insults to their intelligence and honesty, and the friends of "labor reform" enthusiastically endorse them. Hitherto Butler has shown that he did not underestimate the masses he had directly to deal with; will he be equally successful in his attempt on a larger scale? Is the whole country as ignorant and knavish as the old Essex district? This is to be seen; but even his success so far is a sad incident to the real friends of popular progress.

BOSTON, January 28, 1869.

Notes.

LITERARY.

MESSRS. FELT & DILLINGHAM announce that they will soon issue reprints of five recent English books—namely, "The Life and Career of Lord Brougham, with Extracts from his Speeches and Notices of his Contemporaries"—his own notices of some of them would impart a lively tone to the volume; "The Public Life of Queen Victoria;" "The Life of Benjamin Disraeli;" "The Life of W. E. Gladstone;" and "The Life of John Bright."—Messrs. Hachette & Co., of Paris, have for a good while been publishing, and with very great success, a series of books, written by French writers of good standing, which we may briefly describe as intended to popularize science. They are fit for the instruction of the young, though instruction is not

their formal and avowed object, and not less well fitted for giving a useful smattering of information—for there is usefulness in a smattering if one knows it for what it is and uses it as such—on those scientific topics of which everybody is expected to know more or less, and of which it is not only unpleasant to know nothing, but is pleasant to know something. MM. Radeau, Guillemin, Meunier, Jacquemart, Viardot, and a dozen other capable writers, are among those employed by Messrs. Hachette & Co. in making their little manuals, and the subjects treated of are optics, heat, thunder and lightning, vegetation, astronomy, volcanoes, and many more. We should add that the description we have given of this series would not be complete if we did not say that it is not devoted entirely to science; the arts, both the fine and the useful, have some attention paid them, and one can learn of pottery, of painting, of sculpture, and carving. Some of the books of this series Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. are going to translate and reprint, and some one or two they will reprint from translations already in the English market. They begin with M. Fonvielle's "Thunder and Lightning," and that will be followed by "Heat," which is the work of Professor Cazin.—Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt are to republish a book which will have something of the value of the books of Messrs. Felt & Dillingham which we have just mentioned, and will have in addition a value which those little works have not; we refer to Miss Harriet Martineau's brief sketches of distinguished men and women, chiefly English, not long since deceased. They give with accuracy, but not with fulness, the facts in the life of the subject of the memoir, and they also give Miss Martineau's opinion—which always is Miss Martineau's opinion, and a pretty decided one—on his or her character. Her criticism is often acute, for she has a woman's way of feeling character, and a good deal of a solid judgment not hitherto thought so common among women as among men. She has, too, it may as well be said, something of the feminine aptness for partisanship; but we do not know that her critical faculty is affected by her likes or dislikes more than most men's, because she is an able and honest person, sincerely desirous of being just. Her obituary notice of Landor is a good example of her fairness, her good sense, her acuteness, and her good writing. The "De Quincey" may be quoted in illustration of some of her other qualities; her friendship for Wordsworth, and her contempt for the subtilizing, unpractical, shiftless scholar, are more evident in it than that she ever understood or cared for the real De Quincey. Still the admirers of that singular and delightful genius will do well to read what may be said against him; truthfully, too, no doubt. Miss Martineau treats of a great many persons, and her social, literary, and political standing has long been such that she had exceptional opportunities for becoming acquainted with the lives and characters of distinguished men and women. She writes about Father Mathew, of both the Napiers, of Brougham, of Macaulay, of Lady Noel Byron—of whom she was a very intimate friend, and so decided an admirer that his lordship, wherever he is, may rest assured that he is better off than he would be with Miss Martineau—of Whately, of Dumas, of Lord Grey, of Amelia Opie, of Croker—who is heartily "paid out" for his bad language about Liberals—of Wilson and Lockhart, and fifty more. The same house announce Kreissle Von Hellborn's "Life of Schubert," and, doubtless for later publication, a book that ought to be a very good Christmas "juvenile," and which it is a wonder no one has thought of before—a monosyllabic "Arabian Nights' Entertainments."

—We spoke last November of a meeting of gentlemen interested in philological learning, which was called to meet at the New York University. At that preliminary meeting it was decided that a national convention of American philologists should be held in the course of next summer. The 27th of July has been designated as the time when this body will begin its sessions, and the place chosen is the city of Poughkeepsie, in this State. Measures will then be taken for completing the organization of a permanent "National Society for the Promotion of Philological Studies and Research in America." This being effected, the convention will proceed to the reading and hearing of papers written by several of our most distinguished linguists, and then what time remains—the session will be several days long—will be devoted to the discussion of various questions which, so far as they are set down in the circular before us, have the look of having been prepared by philologists engaged in the practical work of instruction. First comes the question inevitable, How much of the time in a collegiate course of study should be given to the study of language? Secondly, and thirdly, and fourthly, and on to seventhly, come these related questions which also may pretty confidently be expected whenever two or three or more practical philologists are nowadays gathered together: How much of the time should be devoted to the study of the modern languages? Should the study of the French and German precede that of the Latin and

Greek languages? What position should be given to the study of the English language in our colleges and other high schools of learning? What is the most efficient method of instruction in the classical languages? What is the best system of pronouncing Latin and Greek? Should the written accent be observed in pronouncing Latin and Greek? It is to be hoped that the society's conclusions in regard to these matters—if it is going to come to conclusions as a society—may be put into print. There are thousands of teachers who, unable to attend the sittings of the convention, would be very glad to read the opinions of their superiors in learning upon topics which are of such everyday importance, as well as of intrinsic interest. It is almost a pity that all learned associations, when they deal with doubtful subjects, not merely of abstract interest, do not employ some officer whose duty should be like that of the reporter of a court. A synopsis and summing up of the arguments on the questions above-mentioned, with the decision of the society noted at the end, would be a useful book. It would be useful to so large a public, too, that probably enough the society might, by publishing these condensed proceedings, pay some part of its expenses. The eighth and last question put down for discussion is, What more efficient measures can be taken to preserve from destruction the languages of the aboriginal Indians of America? All professors of languages in universities, colleges, theological seminaries, and similar schools of the higher grades, all presidents of colleges in which languages are taught, and all amateurs and patrons of philological studies, are invited to be present at this first convention. Three o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of July next, is the time appointed. We see in the list of names appended to the invitation those of Professors Atkinson, Goodwin, Gurney, Peabody, Pierce, and Sophocles, of Cambridge and Boston; Hadley and Whitney, of Yale; Evans and Haven, of Michigan; Greene, of Princeton; Harkness, of Providence; Drisler, Schmidt, Chandler, Barnard, Ferris, and others of our New York professors, and many more, representing all the important institutions of learning in the North, East, and West. Professor De Vere's, of Charlottesville, is the only name of a Southern professor that we observe. Names of amateurs that we observe in the list are those of General Garfield; Judge Daly; Mr. Richard Grant White; Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford; Mr. George Gibbs, of Washington; and Mr. Sumner. The meeting ought to be large. But we have, we must say, heard Poughkeepsie described as the hottest in July of all towns or cities in the United States, which, however, is perhaps an exaggeration.

—We should look in vain in this country for any periodical peculiarly the medium of the higher class of teachers, such as the professors of colleges and the heads of the best preparatory schools. There is no public ground on which the professors at Yale and the professors at Harvard can meet as such and compare experiences, or offer contributions to the development of their special departments, or criticise doctrines new and old, or weigh the merits of recent text-books. In this respect they are less fortunate and less intimately united than the teachers of grammar and primary schools, who find what nearly corresponds to their wants in the State conventions, county institutes, and official educational monthlies, with the names of most of which last our readers are tolerably familiar. Imperfect as are these means, they yet serve to maintain an *esprit de corps* which can hardly be said to exist in the grade above. Or again, to what college catalogue was it ever sought to give more than a local interest and value by attaching some essay or discourse, by a competent authority, on language, or mathematics, or any of the branches taught in the regular curriculum? Abroad the practice is not unknown; for instance, the important research into the Roland legends, by Dr. Hugo Meyer, presented in a paper to the Bremen Historical Society, was published as a sort of preface or introduction to the programme of the Bremen High-School (consisting, as we should say, of College, School of Technology, Latin and Grammar Schools in one). Opportunities would not certainly be wanting here, and we recall as we write a fit article for such a purpose which appeared not long ago in the *North American Review*—an enquiry into the origin of the Italian language with reference to the written and popular speech of the ancient Romans.

—The occasion for saying all this is the sight of the *Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen* (Berlin: Weidmann; New York: L. W. Schmidt) for January, which now enters upon its twenty-third volume. It is a handsome, open octavo of about a hundred pages, and in its divisions it corresponds nearly enough with the general scope of our own educational journals already referred to. But this one, as its title indicates, is for the body of Gymnasia—the college fraternity. It gives (1) discussions of questions of instruction and management, with whatsoever more or less immediately pertains to these offices in the gymnasia; (2) critical examination of recent

text-books; (3) Government regulations for the *gymnasia*, extracts from other periodicals, personal and school notices, etc. Under the first head, in the number before us, is a highly interesting paper on proposed reforms in German orthography, which is also treated at length among the reviews of text-books. We find on page 90, in a report of the twenty-sixth convention of German philologists and pedagogues at Würzburg last October, the latest expression in regard to the Apollo Belvedere. Prof. Henry Brunn, of Munich, exhibited to the meeting two plaster casts, one of the Apollo and the other of the head recently found by Steinhauser at Rome, and confidently supposed to be not only Apollo, but either the original of which the Belvedere is a copy, or else a superior copy from the same original. Prof. Brunn decides it to be the head of a young athlete. In regard to the segis probably borne in the left hand, he accepts the conclusion afforded by the Pouqueville-Straganoff statuette in bronze.

—The proprietors of the *Watchman and Reflector* call our attention to the fact that the recent squabble between it and the *Independent*, on which we commented jocosely last week, was due simply to its having forwarded a fac-simile of its first number, published fifty years ago, to one of the editors of the *Independent*, "only bespeaking such reference to the fac-simile as might be judged fit," a proceeding which these gentlemen do not consider equivalent to a formal application for "a notice." The subsequent trouble therefore arose, apparently, from the *Independent's* looking on the *Watchman's* comments on its own theological position as in some sort a breach of the condition on which it accords "notices" to its contemporaries. The matter is one of very little interest either to us or the public, and we return to it simply to disclaim all intention of imputing any extraordinary depravity to either *Watchman* or *Independent*, and to confess that the *Watchman's* application does, in the light of its explanation, seem a more innocent one than we had supposed. Any literary phenomenon which deserves notice it is the duty of an editor to notice, as far as his space and means will permit; if he only notices it because somebody interested in it asks him to do so, the notice is an advertisement, and he ought to present it to the public as an advertisement, and not as an honest expression of opinion. The system of mutual puffing, of which there is so much—more elegantly termed "the exchange of journalistic amenities"—owes its origin to the theory, which more than anything else helps to bring the press into contempt, that a paper is, and of right ought to be, the exponent of the editor's or proprietor's personal hopes and fears, likes and dislikes; an instrument with which to punish his friends, reward his enemies, push his fortunes, and bring confusion on those who think meanly of him and his works, report his speeches, and even chant his praises. From this theory the personal broils by which the press is so disgraced and the public so much amused and disgusted flow as naturally as possible. From helping one's friends to castigating one's enemies there is, in the newspaper world at least, but a short step; the editor who in one column describes his friend of the *Light-House* as a model of all the virtues, is pretty sure to have to tell in another of the desperate personal depravity of the conductor of the *Dark Lantern*. In fact, discussions between journals whose editors insist on treating their papers as their private speaking-trumpets, inevitably degenerate into common rows, such as would naturally take place in a meeting composed of rivals in business debating without a chairman. The general result is that there is no body of men exerting the same amount of influence, and really so deserving of respect, who enjoy so little consideration from the public. The members of the other professions look on them as boyish, flighty, irascible, shallow, and slightly unscrupulous persons, whose powers of mischief are great, and who therefore have to be humored, and even flattered, but whose sayings wise men do not mind, and whose ravings and boastings are a favorite subject of merriment in companies in which none of them happen to be present. But their quarrels and their mutual "cawings," as the Scotch say, perhaps do more than aught else to make them ridiculous. Of course the opinion of a professional brother cannot and ought not to be a matter of indifference to any properly constituted mind. There is no editor who ought not to be gratified by seeing in another paper commendation of himself or his work; but then to make such commendation valuable to anybody with a fair amount of self-respect and good sense, it ought to be genuine and hearty; it ought, in short, to possess those marks of thought, discrimination, originality, and sincerity which distinguish honest criticism from common puffery. In other words, no honest, self-respecting man ought to care for praise which he knows is accorded just as readily to an advertising charlatan as to a distinguished publicist, and which he knows, too, the slightest personal difference with the utterer would at any moment convert into dirty abuse.

THE TWO COUNTS MÜNSTER.*

At the beginning of our century Germany was a confederate empire, but an empire tottering towards dissolution under the weight of age and debility, and under the blows dealt it by the armies of the French Republic. The peace of Luneville revealed the fatal exhaustion of its vitality; Austerlitz gave it the finishing stroke; the Rhenish Confederation was formed by Napoleon, and Francis laid down the German imperial crown. During the following seven years Germany groaned under the yoke of the French conqueror or bled under his sword. The battle of Leipzig restored it to independence, and the Congress of Vienna reconstructed it in the shape of a loose confederation, without a central head and with a powerless Diet. This reconstruction, which almost everybody hailed as better, though not much better, than total disunion, was the result of a long and painful travail, being brought about by the discordant exertions of men of varied opinions and tendencies, under the influence of clashing interests, and partly under the pressure of foreign dictation. Its consummation was hastened, if not made possible, by the threatening reappearance of Napoleon on the stage, which commanded harmony and speedy work. The act which created the Germanic Confederation was signed on the 8th of June, 1815, ten days before the battle of Waterloo. It completed the general work of the congress which, under the auspices of Czar Alexander and his Austrian and Prussian allies, and under the chief diplomatic management of Nesselrode, Metternich, Hardenberg, Castlereagh, and Talleyrand, readjusted the map of Europe—the intersecting boundary lines of which Napoleon had so rudely effaced—cast lots, so to say, over countries, and decided the fate of nations without consulting them. Among the principal authors and signers of that "Act of Confederation" was Count Ernst Münster, as representative of the King of Hanover—George III. of England—whose "Despatches to the Prince Regent" have now for the first time been published by his son. With what disregard of all right—human, national, hereditary—the Vienna assembly of princes and ministers disposed of so many countries and peoples; how coolly it sacrificed Poland to Russia, Italy to Austria, Saxony to Prussia, Denmark to Sweden, and liberty to monarchical sway everywhere, has often been told. But no history can convey as clear an idea of the heartlessness and rapaciousness which characterized the repartition of Germany by its princes as we can get from the perusal of a collection of diplomatic correspondence from so well-informed a member of the congress itself as was Count Münster. The following extract will suffice to show how shamelessly the traffic in lands and "souls" was carried on, especially if we consider that the writer belonged to the comparatively upright, fair, and patriotic portion of the assembled diplomats.

"Prussia," he writes, "having taken possession of that part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which falls to her share, as well as of her new provinces beyond the Rhine, and even of the greater part of those she is to obtain between the Rhine and the Weser, I charged Count de Hardenberg to represent to the Prussian chancellor that Prussia was in possession of a population of 131,500 souls which belonged to Hanover, this kingdom having only obtained 119,500 souls by the occupation of Hildesheim. It seemed to me, then, just, until the cession of the Hessian possessions and the Duchy of Lauenberg should be arranged, that Prussia should give up to us, in East Friesland, 119,500 souls, and in the town of Goslar 5,500—in all 125,000. This would still leave a surplus of 6,500 souls in her hands. . . . It is not unimportant to us, as the revenue we ought to receive is about 50,000 rix-dollars per month. . . . I have not sufficient confidence in the good faith of the Prussian cabinet to believe that we shall ever receive what is due to us. Now Darmstadt and Baden are very unwilling to enter into the unions sought from them to facilitate the arrangement agreed on between Austria and Bavaria. . . ."

The dealings of the great powers with each other are shown up in another despatch. The ministers of England and Austria, wishing to obtain the aid of Prussia in resisting Alexander's designs on Poland, confidentially offer her, under certain conditions, the whole of Saxony. This communication is betrayed to Alexander, who, in turn, tells Frederic William that Metternich has "offered to concede all his demands if Russia would declare itself against those made by Prussia." Informed of this conversation, Metternich writes to Hardenberg "formally denying the assertion of the Emperor Alexander, and offering to repeat this disavowal in his presence if he persisted." This letter, too, being betrayed, Alexander makes "this affair the occasion of a personal quarrel with Prince Metternich," who tries "warding off the blow by communicating, in his turn, the confidential letters of the chancellor of Prussia." And so great was the mutual distrust of the allies during the very Waterloo campaign that even the position of the Russian forces, which, "according to the

* "Political Sketches of the State of Europe from 1814-1867. Containing Count Ernst Münster's Despatches to the Prince Regent, from the Congress of Vienna. By George Herbert. Count Münster." Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1868.

first plans formed at Vienna, were to remain behind the line of the armies on the Rhine—could not fail to cause much distrust and reserve in the movements of the active allied army." Soon after these gentlemen founded the Holy Alliance.

Their principal work, the Germanic Confederation, was far from realizing, in the eyes of Count Münster, that degree of freedom and unity which the German nation had so good a right to expect as the reward of its sacrifices in the cause of the fatherland and its princes. Having long served King George as ambassador and as Hanoverian prime minister, in which capacity he generally resided at the Court of St. James, he had gradually imbibed the principles of Tory constitutionalism, which in Germany were then considered liberal. He was sincerely attached to the common cause of Germany, although in his political affections his monarch occupied the first place and Hanover the second. He had little confidence in the good intentions of either Russia, Prussia, or Austria, and his intimacy with Metternich lasted only as long as the interests they represented were in harmony. When, in later years, Canning became the great antagonist of the Austrian chancellor of state, Count Münster did not hesitate to assail his former friend and instructor and his reactionary policy in a diplomatic note which appeared like a firebrand in German politics, though, in his own sphere, he continued to show an unlimited subserviency to royal desires and schemes. He left office shortly after the death of George IV., and lived his last years in dignified retirement, having refused both a large pension and the title of prince.

Unnaturally constructed, without the means of improvement, but well fitted to check progress and foster rivalries, the German Bund—though representing neither right nor power—managed to live, with a brief interruption in 1848-1850, from the eve of the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, to the eve of the battle of Königgrätz, in 1866, since which it has been replaced, in part, by the North German Confederation, under the lead of victorious and aggrandized Prussia. This violent change cost Hanover its independence. Having ceased to be connected with Great Britain by the ties of dynastic union when Victoria, in 1837, ascended the British throne, and her uncle, Ernest Augustus, according to Salic law, succeeded to the throne of Hanover, it alternately sided with Prussia and Austria in their more or less open conflicts for supremacy in Germany, and, under King George, the son of Ernest Augustus, finally took up arms on the side of Francis Joseph in the war which terminated the existence of the Bund. The Hanoverian troops fought bravely at Langensalza, but were soon after forced to surrender. Hanover became incorporated with Prussia, and the blind king an exile. Among those of his nobles who dared to warn him, though with little prospect of being listened to, against the fatal consequences of his warlike determination, was the young Count Münster, George Herbert, who has since become prominent by the decided readiness with which he accepted the new situation, as well as by his open declaration in favor of a further extension of Prussia's supremacy. The "Political Sketches" which he has issued together with the "Despatches" of his father, and which his lately deceased wife, well known in England as Lady Harriette St. Clair, translated from the German for the benefit of her countrymen, are probably intended to vindicate his course, which seems so little in harmony with the traditions of his house, to persuade his Hanoverian countrymen that, in so momentous a crisis as the present, *Gefühlspolitik* (sentimental politics) will not do, and perhaps also to smooth for him the path to influence under the new auspices.

The "Political Sketches" are divided into four heads, entitled "The Congress of Vienna," "Russia," "Germany"—by far the longest sketch—and "General Observations on the Existing State of Politics." They are sufficiently interesting, and to those little initiated in German politics tolerably instructive, without being either profound, scholarly, or exhaustive. The author passes in rapid, and sometimes very hasty, review the whole history of Europe, from 1814 to 1867. He states his views on almost every subject, but rarely supports them by argument. When he does, his argument is too fugitive to be conclusive. He is an undisguised aristocrat, but a friend of sincere, unadulterated constitutionalism. He abhors anarchy and the Napoleonic régime. He believes in Prussia—which must become Germany—wishes well to Austria's experiments of regeneration under Beust, and almost admires Russia, in spite of her "despotism tempered by assassination." He rejoices at the revival of Italy, laments Poland as lost, is friendly to Hungary, and would like to see Turkey extinct. The most interesting parts of the whole are those concerning the downfall of Hanover and the character and future of the North German Confederation. As his views on the latter subjects have called forth a considerable echo in Germany, we will briefly present them.

The war of 1866, he believes, "has given equal significance to the fortunes of Germany and of Prussia." Prussia might have imposed more

centralizing conditions on the states that were in her power; their sovereigns ought, perhaps, to have been compelled "to acknowledge the King of Prussia as their protector, under the title of King or Emperor of Germany." He doubts whether "the experiment of a federal state that is now being made will answer." He should have preferred more distinctness in the new position of Prussia, "a firmer, more visible, and definite central power." The mechanism of the new Confederation "is too complicated, and, therefore, for any length of time, untenable. Federal commander-in-chief, federal chancellor, federal council and ministry, ministries of the separate states, privy council; in Prussia, house of lords, house of commons, provincial diets, municipal assemblies, district diets. This is rather too much." Yet the new constitution has created a ground on which a durable structure may be raised. "Legislation on a large scale, i.e., for all federal concerns, ought to be in the hands of the central government and the Parliament together; the sovereigns being represented in an upper house." The separate state assemblies would then be in the position of provincial diets. A more compact union of North Germany would exercise a more powerful attraction upon the southern states. "Half measures are always followed by whole evils, and it cannot be denied that the annexation of some states, and continued existence of others, however political reasons may have required it, was a half-measure." What has not been done, can and must be done in future. "The present state of things in Germany, the North German Confederation, is nothing but a German empire *in cognito*, and the sooner it takes its real position, and acknowledges its sovereign as such, the better."

NEAR-SIGHTEDNESS IN CHILDREN.*

THE author takes for his motto the words of Prof. Donders: "I say, without hesitation, that a short-sighted eye is a diseased eye." Probably four out of every five readers of this page do not believe Donders. Popularly, "a near-sighted eye is a strong eye." Let any one who wishes make the experiment of telling the next man he meets with glasses that his eyes are diseased. We assure him of a cool and incredulous reception. Every one has friends or relations who are near-sighted, but who work long and hard by lamp-light, and endure it as well as anybody; and we are not ready to believe that our friends—still less ourselves—labor under a "chronic organic disease" of the eyes. Still, the words upon the title-page confront us with the disagreeable assertion of this fact. Before examining Dr. Cohn's book, let us state plainly what a near-sighted eye is, and how it merits to be called diseased.

The fortunate possessor of a good eye can read a printed page like this at the distance of three feet. He can bring the page gradually nearer, to within three or four inches of his eye, and still be enabled to read, through a conscious effort—an actual muscular effort—of which the rationale is as follows. The rays of light pass through the lens, called crystalline, placed in the central axis of the eye, and are focused upon the retina, as the picture in a magic lantern is focused by the lens upon the white sheet. *Distant* rays are exactly focused by the normal eye at rest—and therefore vision of distant objects is clear. But to focus a *near* object exactly of course requires a lens of a different shape; and this slight change of shape is actually effected by the aid of a tiny muscle within the eye. When normal eyes are engaged upon objects within a distance of less than a foot, this muscle is constantly at work, adapting the shape of the lens to suit circumstances. Of course, the muscle may become wearied with overwork. It may ache, and set the whole eye aching. More than this, the effort—expressively called "straining the eye"—produces a pressure upon the coats of the eyeball from within; and in young children these coats are delicate, and may easily acquire a tendency to give way before this constant pressure. The pernicious habit of holding the head down to the book tends to the same result, for of course the blood rushes into the eye, crowding it still further, and increasing the tendency—if any exists—to a gradual bulging out of the eye. Here, then, is the whole story. An eye is overworked in such a manner as to make its fluid contents press too severely upon its coats; the pressure is continued, six hours a day, for two or three thousand days; the process is begun at an age when the whole body is soft, when even the bones will bend before breaking; the eyeball begins gradually to lose its correct shape; it yields at the back part, and thus becomes slightly elongated. This condition is near-sightedness. The retina, at the rear of the eye, is too far from the lens to receive

* "Untersuchungen der Augen von 10.000 Schulkindern, nebst Vorschlägen zur Verbesserung der den Augen nachtheiligen Schuleinrichtungen. Eine öphthalmologische Studie von Hermann Cohn. Med. et Philos. Dr. Augenarzt in Breslau." Leipzig, 1867. 8vo, pp. 171. [An Examination of the Eyes of 10,000 School-children; with suggestions for the correction of certain arrangements in schools injurious to the eyes; by Dr. H. Cohn, of Breslau.]

an image properly focused. Further optical explanation is here out of place; suffice it to say, that this simple change in the shape of the eyeball constitutes near-sightedness, and that this changed condition is not a healthy one, but often tends to a steadily increasing disorganization of the coats of the eye, producing partial or total blindness in the end.

Thus is our author's motto justified. As to his observations, they are truly invaluable, as being really the first of the kind which have been alike wide in their range, ample in number, and minutely careful in each instance. He has examined five schools of low grade in the village of Langenbielau, near Breslau, and twenty-eight schools—of six orders—in the latter city. The ages of the 10,000 pupils varied from seven to twenty-two years. The examination was conducted during the winter term of 1865-6, with all the appliances known to modern science for obtaining trustworthy results. The mode of examination was as follows. Every scholar was bidden to stand in good light, and read from a sheet printed for the especial purposes of this test; the type being at a distance of four feet from his eyes. Those who could not read rapidly from this sheet were noted, as deficient in visual power. Each one thus noted as deficient was then subjected to a thorough examination by the means of glasses and the ophthalmoscope in the hands of Dr. Cohn himself. The result of this examination gave the surprising total of 1,730 children—over 17 per cent. of all examined—as more or less deficient in sight. We will give a rapid summary of a few of the principal results.

The number of children with defective vision increases steadily, through seven grades of schools, from 5 per cent. in the lowest grade to 31·7 per cent. in the highest. This large proportion, nearly one-third in the highest, is not accidental, for it is obtained from an examination of two *gymnasia* (answering to our American "colleges") containing 1,195 pupils. The proportion in the city schools is nearly four times as great as in the country schools. Of the 1,730 with defective vision, 1,004 were near-sighted, very trifling cases of the affection not being included.

No school was without myopic (*i. e.*, near-sighted) scholars. The village schools, on the average, had 1·4 per cent.; the city schools eight times as many (11·4 per cent.). In the city there was a constant increase in the number of myopes from the lowest grade of school up to the highest; *i. e.* from 6·7 per cent. up to 26·2 per cent. In the two upper classes of the *gymnasia*, 115 were near-sighted, against about 135 who were not so! As to age, among the pupils in the village schools, 243 were found who had attended school not more than six months; of these, *not one* was near-sighted. The proportion rises steadily, in almost every kind of school, from the youngest to the oldest classes. The degree of affection increases in proportion to the age of the scholars and the rank of the school. Less than one-fourth of the near-sighted required glasses between Nos. 6 and 15; the remainder weaker glasses. Near one-half required No. 24, or a weaker glass.

Without going further into Dr. Cohn's statistics, surely here is enough to set us on the enquiry for causes. No near-sightedness before the school age—and nearly one-half of the oldest pupils near-sighted! Our author sums up his results with the remarks: "I am far from attributing the enormous extension of near-sightedness among school children *exclusively* to the school; but a due respect for hygienic laws should compel us to arrange matters so that no one can point out even a possible cause of harm." The points which he would see attended to are:

"1. School desks and seats adapted to support the child's body in a healthy position, with his eyes at a proper distance from the book.

"2. Very well lighted school-rooms, to remove the temptation to hold the book near the face—a prolific source of the increase of near-sightedness.

"3. Statutes to prevent school children from wearing glasses unless ordered and selected by a physician.

"4. Strict disciplinary measures to prevent scholars amusing themselves by *quinting* (a popular athletic pastime!).

"5. Instruction in normal schools, that teachers in future may be aware of the evils arising from bad hygienic arrangements in schools." He adds:

"I am convinced that if these suggestions should be attended to by those in authority, the result would be, not indeed the complete banishment of diseased eyes from the world, but a great diminution of the number of 'diseases of refraction' in children."

In a very thorough examination of the school-desks and seats, Dr. Cohn found almost universally prevalent these faults: 1. They did not correspond to the size of the pupils. 2. The feet were unsupported. 3. The book was brought too near the face. 4. The seat was away from the desk (in order to allow the scholar to rise in his place), in consequence of which the body had to stoop forward very much. This was one of the chief faults found. 5. Desk tops flat, instead of inclined. He says, "In every class where I was present during the exercise of writing, I was able to show the teacher that the eyes of almost every scholar were but two or

three inches distant from the paper, instead of a foot, or a foot and a half, as they ought to be." His suggestions are, to support the feet; to bring the seat and the desk so near that the edge of the latter shall project an inch over the former; to make the desk from 6½ to 9 inches higher than the seat, according to the size of the scholar; and to incline the desk top moderately. The windows of school-rooms also received a good deal of attention from Dr. Cohn. He says, in regard to the quantity of light admitted, "The number of near-sighted pupils in the twenty elementary schools is in each case proportional to the narrowness of the street, the height of the opposite houses, and the lowness of the story in the school-house in which the class is placed."

In regard to the use of glasses we find our author reprehending in strong terms the employment of the same pair for reading and for viewing distant objects. It is almost sure to bring on a rapid increase in the degree of near-sightedness. Bad type, fine maps, writing on slates or with poor ink, reading in bed, by firelight or moonlight, fine embroidery, etc., are also more or less potent causes; to which he adds congenital predisposition. We would point out, as another cause, the over-heating of school-rooms. It needs no proof to show that this must cause congestion of the eyes—which is one of the strongest operating causes in producing near-sightedness. But an anecdote (for the truth of which we vouch) will set this in a clear light. A lady, recently visiting one of the colored normal schools in Richmond, found a class of young girls standing against the wall, behind the stove—apparently because there was no other place to stand. They all held their books within a very few inches of their faces, and on being asked why they did so, replied that they could not see to read otherwise (which was really the case). They were sent out of doors to cool themselves, and on returning they could read at the proper distance. Precisely the same state of things was encountered in another school: temporary myopia from standing behind a stove, cured by a few minutes in the fresh air.

Dr. Cohn found the opposite condition to near-sightedness in 239 children—less than one-fourth as many. Nor does the proportion increase in the higher schools, but the far-sighted are distributed without any seeming law. How extensive these evils are in our own country it is impossible to say. But it is safe to say that few persons are aware of their magnitude. It is the duty of our physicians to arouse the public, and we are glad to see from the pens of Dr. Jeffries (*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Nov. 5), and Dr. Williams, President of the American Ophthalmological Society (*Mass. Teacher*, for December), articles bearing upon this point. We refer our readers to the above sources for a fuller discussion than we can find room to give.

Alphabet of Geology; or, First Lessons in Geology and Mineralogy, with Suggestions on the Relation of Rocks to Soil. By S. R. Hall, LL.D. (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1868.)—This is one of the numerous well-intentioned efforts to bring science to the level of the childish mind. The common method of making such books is to abridge treatises intended for older persons, leaving out the hard words and the philosophical ideas. Now, roast-beef is bad for sucklings even when it is chopped very fine and administered with a tea-spoon. The diets proper to baby and adult differ in quality, as well as in quantity and mode of administration. Abridgments of books for adults are almost sure to fail as helps for children. A new method is necessary for little children. A mere compiler can never make a proper child's book on scientific subjects. The task is one which befits an investigator in science, and demands a deal of original thinking. The book before us treats of mineralogy rather than of geology. It describes very inadequately some two hundred and fifty mineral and metallic substances. Mistakes and inconsistencies abound. Even the terminology is extraordinarily inaccurate and confused. Thus, on p. 129, we have barytum for barium; on p. 130, carbonate of *barytes* and carbonate of *strontium* are within ten lines of each other. On the same page occurs this sentence, which is but ill adapted to instruct adults, let alone children: "Both sulphuric and carbonic acid [sic] unite with a base called Strontium [sic], which is an oxide." The term "barytes" is indiscriminately applied to the sulphate and the oxide of barium. The composition of the strontium minerals is wrongly stated, because the author incorrectly says strontium when he means the oxide of strontium. Mistakes in the composition of the minerals described are numerous. Chemical errors abound. Sulphuric acid is said (p. 122) to be "formed by a combination of sulphur, nitrogen, and water." The statement that "potash is a protoxide of potassa" (p. 125) contains as much error and confusion of thought as can well be got into that number of words. In saying (p. 101) that "when strong acids are applied to lead it is converted into an oxide, and forms a beautiful white paint, so com-

monly used for the outside of houses," Mr. Hall misleads his little readers deplorably. Strong acids do not have any such effect on lead, and "white lead" is not a simple oxide at all, in spite of Mr. Hall's categorical statement to that effect on p. 120. On p. 96 we are informed that platinum is dearer than gold, the fact being that it costs less than half as much. On p. 115, barium is said to be of a dark-gray color; it is white with a yellowish tinge.

Of geology there is very little in the book. About twenty pages are devoted to loose and general remarks about rocks and soils, and in a supplement of sixteen pages a few illustrations of fossil vegetables and animals are lugged in; but these pictures are inserted without any connection with what precedes and follows and without sufficient interpretation. Mr. Hall erects clay into a mineral species under the name of "argillite," and makes it one of the nine letters of his "alphabet of geology." No such mineral species as "argillite" is recognized by good authorities.

The author evidently means to have children commit his very inaccurate descriptions to memory. The first hundred pages of the book are divided into thirty-five lessons, with questions appended. We can only hope that mineralogy will not be made disagreeable to many children by this vicious method of teaching it. There is but one way in which to study mineralogy with profit, and that is with minerals, blow-pipe, and test-tubes in hand.

A deal is said nowadays about the badness of Latin and Greek grammars and other classical text-books. They may be bad; but any one who has occasion to read many school-books on scientific subjects will soon come to the conclusion that the scientific manuals are on the average decidedly inferior to the grammatical, both as regards general intelligence of method and adaptation to the end in view.

Life among the Apaches. By J. C. Cremony. (San Francisco: A. Roman & Co.)—This is a book of personal adventures among that which is perhaps the fiercest and most incorrigible of our American Indian tribes. It is full of incidents such as will commend it to those who devour "thrilling narratives," while it gives many facts valuable to the student, and especially valuable to the student of our Indian politics. Indeed, its special object is to "let in such light as may result in bettering our present deplorable Indian policy." The author has earned the right to be listened to, if one may earn this by eight years of intimate and interested contact with his subject. The opportunity for this came, first, as Spanish interpreter to the United States Boundary Commission, for establishing the limits of the Gadsden purchase, in which capacity he travelled extensively in Arizona, New Mexico, and Northern Mexico—the home of the Apache race; and afterwards as Major of California Volunteer Cavalry, in the late war, when he was over much the same ground, engaged in fighting the wild Indians and guarding on reservations those already whipped. According to the author, the Apaches number 25,000 souls, and can or could bring into battle 5,000 warriors. This is exclusive of the Navajoes and Lipans, which are of the same stock. They rule or have ruled with terrible mastery over the whole of Arizona, a part of New Mexico, and parts of the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango, or over a territory nearly as large as all of our States bordering on the Atlantic and on the Gulf combined. Over this vast country they roam in small parties without government or leader except such as the occasion may create, and yet by an ingenious system of mountain signals they can concentrate at once large bodies for attack or defense. They build no houses and plant no fields, but live by the hunt and by robbery, chiefly by the latter. "The Apache has become the most treacherous, bloodthirsty, villainous, and unmitigated rascal upon earth." He is, however, no idiot, but smart, quick, and cunning, and sometimes manifesting high intellectual powers. Nor is he destitute of all the virtues. Still, it is the author's conclusion that he is incapable of improvement. Upon this he harps continually.

As might be expected, the proposed cure for the Apache does not contemplate any attempts for his reformation, but plans a vigorous campaign against him for his immediate subjugation, and that after a different manner from the "Regulation" system, for which the major has hearty and perhaps not unreasonable contempt. He would thus remove the Apaches from their country; why, or where to, he does not say; and, having abolished the present Indian Bureau, would put them in charge of the War Department. Now, every one not a "semi-idiot" or sentimentalist will agree with the author that the first thing for the Apaches, or any other marauding Indian tribe, is subjugation, and that the more thorough and speedy it is, the better. But Major Cremony, like all others who study this problem only from the military or police stand-point, can conceive of nothing beyond subjugation, except an enlarged guard-house called a

Reservation, where Indians are to be fed at Government expense, and left to rot in swinish laziness. And this seeming incapacity of military men for taking anything but a military view of the matter is a serious reason why the care of the Indians should not be put entirely under the War Department, unless it can be in some modified form, as it has been in the Freedmen's Bureau. He gives a phase of Indian character from what is perhaps the darkest side of the problem of Indian civilization. As such, it is valuable because we have had nothing before it near so good. But this very fact makes the general conclusions of the author less trustworthy. For what may be true of the Apaches is not necessarily true of Indian tribes as a whole.

There are other characteristics of the book and its author which do not add to the credibility of its statements or to the weight of his conclusions. For instance, he makes a statement (p. 293) concerning the law of retaliation for murder, as it exists "among nearly all other of our American tribes," which is exactly the reverse of the truth. It is not the fact that there is generally any trial of a murderer by the tribal dignitaries before he is liable to the attack of the avenger of blood. And it is impossible that there should be, with the general absence among the Indian tribes of anything which can be called government. Equally untrue are his sweeping assertions (pages 96, 192) that all efforts to Christianize or civilize the Indian tribes of our country have been failures. He cites the results of the Jesuit missions in California, but probably never studied far enough to see that their failure to regenerate the Indian lay in the fact that they introduced no new principle of life.

As regards literary character, the book is written in a plain, outspoken style, which is only marred by the frequent announcements of the author that he makes no attempt at fine writing and by the unnecessary use of the egotistical pronoun. The book would have been much better had the author arranged his material so as to bring together his studies in Apache customs and character and his reflections thereon, thus saving much repetition and some inconsistencies. It needs also a good map and index, and on the whole is worthy of them.

Blindpits: A Story of Scottish Life. (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. 1869.)—Notwithstanding its clumsy and inartistic construction, "Blindpits" is a clever and very readable novel. Its author is a person of great good sense and shrewdness, and of unusual ability in the analysis and portrayal of character. The book, had its merits not been obscured by the lack of anything like a sense of form and proportion, which would have kept inferior interests properly subordinated, might have been much more than clever. There is not, it seems to us, an ill-drawn character in it, and, considering that twenty or more are introduced and that most of them are depicted at full length, and all are very distinctly outlined, that is to say that it has very unusual merit. But there are at least half a dozen of these characters who in no way aid the progress of the story, who, in fact, retard it, and who should have been cut out without mercy. The book, too, is written in an easy, unaffected style which is always sensible, not infrequently humorous, and sometimes pathetic. The conversations are natural and lively, and have the merit of confirming the author's verdict on the characters. Usually, in novels, the reader has to take the writer's word as to the intellect, the wit, or the genius of his personages—when they speak for themselves no such qualities are evident. Probably there is not an unamusing chapter in this book; but it is true that there are chapters in plenty which should have been omitted, on the ground that it is not the business of a novelist to gossip about his characters, especially after he has sketched them so fully and firmly that the reader knows them thoroughly, but to use them for the definite purpose of making his novel a consistent and artistic whole. These faults—of over-diffuseness and unnecessary elaboration of minor points—might, however, have been overlooked had the book been intended only as a study of character, with no pretensions at plot or unusual incidents. But a principal event in the story is a poisoning of one of the personages and an ensuing trial for murder. The person who is poisoned is a prominent character, and the person who is tried is claimed by the author as the heroine. This catastrophe occurs somewhere near the middle of the book; nothing has prepared the reader for it, and it bursts upon one with a startling suddenness which is the less easily forgiven when it is found that no real interest hinges upon it and that it leads to nothing, not even to an additional glimpse worth getting into the workings of character. This blunder, which, on the supposition that the plot is the invention of the writer, would be fatal to any pretensions on her part to do artistic work, may be judged more leniently on the theory, which for various reasons seems to us a probable one, that the story of the supposed murder in all its details

is a true one, by which the author of "Blindpits" has been strongly impressed. Her error has been in not giving it its due place and importance. Occurring where it does, with nothing depending on it, it is simply an ugly blemish, which should have been got rid of even at the risk of a plotless novel. If it seemed of sufficient importance to write a book about, other things should have been kept justly subordinated to it. As it stands, Mr. Dods's poetical aspirations and Mr. Graham Richardson's love-making are quite as important and certainly much pleasanter constituents of the novel.

We have spoken of the truth and vividness of the character-painting in this book, and indeed it would be much easier to underestimate than to overstate them. The men, it is true, are not quite so well done as the women—a fact which gives a hint at the sex of the anonymous author—but still they are better than the average men of recent novels. The women, however, are transferred bodily from life to the canvas, and every merit, every blemish, shown in the most effective lights. The author seems to have known the characters as well as the story, and to have rendered them with equal literalness—without attempting to transmute them in her imagination into something truer than literal truth. The fidelity to nature which they exhibit is not that highest artistic truth which relates itself not only to the individual under inspection but to universal humanity, but a truth of local coloring, of Pre-Raphaelite fidelity to unessential as well as to essential facts. For this reason also, the book, which is never dull, which is full of well-done realistic details, and which has in Bessie Barclay as pleasant a heroine as we have met in many a day, is a book for which we hesitate to find a verdict more favorable than—clever.

Tricotrin: The Story of a Waif and Stray. By "Ouida," author of "Strathmore," "Idalia," etc. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.)—The hero of this novel is the son of an English earl, who in his early boyhood abandons his birthright in a fit of anger with his father, and thereafter lives the life of a Bohemian. He is introduced to the reader as a man somewhere between forty and fifty, still in a state of romantic poverty, in which he owns nothing but a boat, a pet monkey, a priceless violin, and a rare copy of Dante, worth its weight in gold. He lives principally on brown bread and grapes, he fiddles at country dances, and by reason of the nobility of his nature and his "personal magnetism," has such influence over "the people" of all Southern Europe that he is recognized as a "power" among them by diplomats of all nations. The "Waif and Stray" whose history the novel purports to be is a woman of overwhelming beauty, whom Tricotrin saves as an infant from the death by starvation to which she had been left by a heartless mother. The story of his passion for her and her lukewarm gratitude in return are not, we regret to say, either easy or remunerative reading. What "Ouida's" distinctive stock-in-trade as a novelist amounts to, we are puzzled to say. Her cheap rhetoric, her bathos, her sentimentalizing seem to be easily traceable to the influence of Bulwer; and for her situations she is as often as not indebted to another poor master—Mr. George Lawrence. She improves, however, on the worst traits of both her models, and as a maker of tawdry sentiment and "hifalutin" has few equals and no superiors.

Her present book is prefaced by what purports to be a likeness of herself, intended, probably, as a sort of sop to that Cerberus of a public whose assumed curiosity concerning her personality has been so ruthlessly dealt with. The face, which is a fine one, does not exactly fit in with one's con-

ception of the woman who could have been guilty of "Idalia," and the whole effect of the engraving is suggestive of the idea that it has been borrowed for the occasion from some old annual or "book of beauty" of a date of twenty-five or thirty years back. The attitude, the dress, the figure, are more like the antiquated ideals of artists who studied the picturesque more than they studied anatomy, than like any particular human being.

Afranius, and The Idumean. Tragedies; with the Roman Martyrs and other Poems. By the Rev. Professor John M. Leavitt. (New York: Printed by Hurd & Houghton. 1869.)—Here and there in this volume there is a poetic thought. There is imagination and truthful representation in a line in which Afranius, walking and talking to himself in a soft, beautiful night, and thinking of Zala, who seems to her lover to be all the world—who seems to be, as mistresses do seem to moonlight lovers, the very reason of heaven and earth, asks himself:

"Does love for her, a heathen, make this night?"

The thought is not new in poetry, and the implied, parenthetical confession of faith Afranius might have spared, but the passage is to be praised.

"The Deluge," again, begins with this picture, which has vigor and clearness, if also some age:

"The heavens are chang'd, clouds piled on clouds rush on,
Sweeping in mountain masses o'er the sky,
Then, mingling, stand a roof of angry black."

But on the whole the passages quoted no more fairly represent our author's ability as a poet than this one, which may be said to exemplify his versification:

"Industry subdues its boisterous energy;"

and this one, which is at the beginning of "Faith in its Relation to the Individual," and which may stand as a specimen of his freshness and suggestiveness of thought and force of imagination:

"Hall, smiling Spring! thy life-imparting breath
Wakes dreary Nature from her sleep of death;
When glows thy sun and milder breezes play,
Through secret mazes steals the potent ray."

It is strange that every little while some new writer should come forward to illustrate still once more the truth, that a man may be clever and interesting in prose, and in verse be a source of regrets. And yet not strange; for it is of the essence of this fault that he who has it should be unconscious of it. After having given "Afranius" and the other pieces a more careful perusal than we usually give to verses of the value of these—for apparently this book is the work of a man with the best intentions—we find nothing for it but to say that we have no doubts or misgivings as regards the advisability of encouraging its author to turn his attention away from poetical composition—at least, for the public.

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Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1868.	2,563,002 30
Total amount of Marine Premiums.	\$9,345,971 12

No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks nor upon Fire Risks disconnected with Marine Risks.

Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1868, to 31st December, 1868.	\$6,807,970 89
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Losses paid during the same period.

Returns of Premiums and expenses.	\$1,888,290 61
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The Company has the following Assets, viz.: United States and State of New York Stock,

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Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise.	2,914,100 00
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Real Estate and Bonds and Mortgages.	210,000 00
--------------------------------------	------------

Interest and sundry Notes and Claims due the Company, estimated at.	200,530 00
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Premium Notes and Bills receivable.	2,953,967 53
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Cash in Bank.	405,548 83
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Total Amount of Assets.

\$13,600,881 39

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